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POPULAR PRAYERS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE

ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS

SHORT prayers in Middle English verse are often found scribbled on flyleaves or in other unimportant positions in various manuscripts. Of literary and religious interest in themselves, they are also valuable for implications suggested by variants of the same prayer occurring in widely diverse manuscripts, and by the many individual lines paralleled in longer and better-known poems. Such pieces call for investigation, and accordingly I submit the following nucleus corpus of short Middle English verse prayers, all hitherto unpublished and for the most part not listed in any catalogues.

I

[Bodl. 29179, fol. 125b]¹
Iesu, for Thy precious blod,
And Thy bitter Pascion:
Make my later endyng good
And the childe of saluacion.

II

[Sloane 747, fol. 46b]²
Iesu, for Thy Holy Name,
And for Thy bytter Passioun,
Saue me frome synne and schame
And endeles dampnacion

¹ Flyleaf of a late fifteenth-century collection of medical tracts.

² Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English religious verse* (Oxford, 1916; 1920), No. 1520. Throughout this article all numbers refer to the First Line Index of Part II of the *Register*. Sloane MS is the sixteenth-century *Register* of Missenden Abbey, containing several English scraps.

.V. Pater Nosters, .V. Aue Marias
and a Credo
.V. thowsand days of pardon.

III

[Bodl. 2643, fol. 149a]³

Ihesu for þi woundis wide,
Wip þi meeknesse fordo my pride,
And alle yuel þat mai me bitide.
Amen for charite.

IV

[Corpus Coll. Oxford 237, fol. 1a]⁴
God Almyghte rewe all wylfull;
Comforte all carefull;
And have mercye on all synfull.

V

[Cambridge University li. 6. 43, fol. 89b]⁵

Iesu Crist of Nazareþ,
That for vs all suffriddist dep
Vpon þe Rode tree;
Thorow vertu of 3owre woundes .v.
That 3e suffryd in 3oure lyue
Haue mercy on me.
Amen.

VI

[Royal 17 A xxxii, fol. 122b]⁶
In troble and in thraull,
Vnto the Lorde I caull,
And He dothe me comforte.
Deliuer me I saye
From lyyng lyppes all way,
And tonge of faulce reporte.

³ MS of the first half of the fifteenth century; religious treatises in English and Latin prose.

⁴ Flyleaf of a large collection of English items, verse and prose, including the translation of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* with Hoccleve's lyrics: fifteenth century.

⁵ *Register*, No. 1023; also printed by Carleton Brown, *Religious lyrics of the fifteenth century* (Oxford, 1939), p. 95. The MS is a fifteenth-century devotional manual in English and Latin.

⁶ *Register*, No. 960. Flyleaf of early fifteenth-century English astrological and medical tracts.

VII

[Durham Cathedral A iv 25, fol. 9b]⁷

Myn Angel that art to me y-send
 Fro God to be my Governour,
 Fro all yvyl thu me defend
 In every dyssease be my succour.

VIII

[Cambridge University Ff. 6. 21, fol. 21b]⁸

Lord, in hondes Thine,
 I be-take sowle myne;
 Lord, as Thou bowtest me,
 Body and sowle I take The.

IX

[Bodl. 8180, Part VI]⁹

God þat is in mageste,
 One God and Persons thre,
 Gyf us grace Hym to wyn,
 And kepe us out of dedly syn.
 Amen par charyte.

X

[Cambridge University Ii. 6. 43, fol. 120b]¹⁰

Lorde þat art of myȝtis moost,
 Fadir and Sone and Holy Goost,
 God in Trynyte;
 Thou ȝeue me grace daye and nyȝt
 The to serue with all my myȝt,
 Lorde, Y beseke þee.

And out of synne my lyf to lede,
 That Y þe Fende mow not drede,
 Whan Y schall hennys wende;
 In Heuen blys þou ȝeue me grace
 The to see face to face,
 Worlde withouten ende.

⁷ *Register*, No. 1361. This quatrain is the sole English item in the MS. My thanks are due to Mr. Ernest A. Knight, the Assistant Librarian, who very kindly transcribed the poem for me.

⁸ The sole English item in a fifteenth-century Latin book of directions to parish priests.

⁹ Last flyleaf; early sixteenth century.

¹⁰ *Register*, No. 1224; also printed by Brown, *Religious lyrics*, p. 79.

In addition, there are eight short prayers which already have been published,¹¹ and certain Levacion prayers fall in this class.¹²

Any item placed in a manuscript where it is obvious that the scribe did not intend originally to include it, falls into one of two classes: either it is a popular and widely known piece, such as a carol or gnomic saying,¹³ or else it is a literary attempt on the part of the owner of the manuscript.¹⁴ The majority of poems in this latter class are moralistic and even secular, but there are a few prayers. In a *Myroure to lewde men and wymmen* (B.M. MS Harley 45) there are on the last flyleaf four lines paraphrasing "In te Domine speraui non confundar in eternum":¹⁵

XI

[Harley 45, fol. 169a]

Now Blessid Lord, as I haue trust in þe
þat euerlastyng I shall nott confoundid be;
And for þi bytter Passyon, þat þou hast suffirryd,
In þi ryghtwysness, swet Iesu, þat I be delyveryd.
Amen.

Immediately following in the same hand is written "Iste liber constat domina Margareta Brent cum magno honore. Amen." The poem, with a slightly different spelling, is also on the first flyleaf (ii^a) and again is followed in the same hand by "Iste liber decet a domina Margareta Brent." Verse prayers in other devotional books occur at the end of Peacock's *Poor men's mirror* in a B.M. Additional MS 37788,¹⁶ and on the first flyleaf of a psalter used in London.¹⁷ The

¹¹ *Register*, Nos. 948, 1014, 1021, 1079, 1136, 1210, 1259, 1334. This list is not exhaustive.

¹² See my forthcoming article on "Levacion prayers in Middle English verse."

¹³ No. 2554 ("Erthe upon erthe") occurs on flyleaves in MSS Harley 1671, Harley 4486, Advocates 19.1.11 (three lines only), Lambeth 223 (two lines), Bodl. 655 (end of group of Wycliffite tracts). No. 564 ("The abuses of the age") is on flyleaves in MSS Bodl. 1339 (last four lines only), Royal 17 B xvii, B.M. Addit. 8151, Worcester Cathedral F 154. No. 2672 (four lines ascribed to Bishop Peock translating "Sensus miratur qui ratio dicere nescit, etc.") is on flyleaves in MSS Royal 8 A iv, Corpus Cambridge 78, and Bodl. 2157. Other gnomic tags which occur at least twice on flyleaves are Nos. 2626, 2099.

¹⁴ There are about thirty poems (generally of one stanza rime royal or ballade meter) which indicate a literary man trying his hand at authorship. A few examples are No. 1734, signed H. Bowesper; No. 1339, signed Nycholas Wikes (a list of his children added in his own hand); No. 777, by Thomas Lower; No. 2066, signed William Huchen.

¹⁵ *Register*, No. 1408.

¹⁶ Fol. 11a. *Register*, No. 2070; printed by Brown, *Religious lyrics*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁷ Fol. 1a by Palden; not listed in Brown's *Register*.

following five lines are found on the flyleaf of Bodleian MS 6943, a Shirley MS of Lydgate's poems; at first sight these lines appear to be an original attempt at pious composition by one of the readers of the book,¹⁸ but in fact they are the opening lines of the *Secrees of old philisoffres*, here regarded as a prayer complete in itself:

XII

[Bodl. 6943, fol. 1a]

God Allmyghty saue and conserue owre Kyng
In all vertue to hys encrease off glorie,
Hys realme, and hym by polytyke levyng
With drede and loue to haue memorye,
Of hys enmyes conquest and victory.

But the foregoing corpus of ten prayers would appear to have had a less limited appeal, in view of the evidence of circulation, and hence to fall into the first class of well-known pieces. It will be noted that specimens I and II are very similar; the second, because of its frequent appearance in prayer manuals, I included with the "private prayers" of the lettered classes.¹⁹ But the two quatrains are the kinds of prayers which we might expect any man or woman to make use of: they are short, the words are simple, the sentiment is not learned. Two lines in particular stand out in the second piece, and are found many times in other prayers, showing that they were widely and orally known. The first and third lines together form a couplet; it appears in "A devout preyer vnto þe Sacrament of þe auteer," an unpublished text which begins:²⁰

Iesu, Lord, welcome þow be,
In forme of bred as I þe se.
Iesu, for Thyn Holy Name,
Schyld me to-day fro sinne and schame.

In a variant text the tag shows a slight change:²¹

Lord, for Thynne Holy Name,
Schelde me from worlde's schame.

¹⁸ In the same way, No. 477, "De libero arbitrio," is signed by Johannes Cok, Almshouse at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. But these sixteen lines are a copy of *Piers Plowman*, C text, Passus XVII, ll. 182-98.

¹⁹ See my forthcoming article on "Private prayers in Middle English verse" in *Studies in philology*, July, 1939.

²⁰ Gurney MS, fol. 189b; *Register*, No. 1056. This text, and all the religious lyrics in this MS have now been edited by me in *PMLA*, LIV (1939).

²¹ B.M. Addit. 29724, fol. 231a.

Both passages are related to the prayer in Mirk's *Instructions to parish priests*,²² and later again in the anonymous poem entitled by its editor "Free masonry" but actually an exhortation to a holy life:²³

Now Jhesu, for Thyn Holy Name,
Schylde me from synne and schame.

These two lines must have had a tremendous circulation—I have noted them in at least sixteen texts—for they became so well known as a prayer tag that it was possible to incorporate them into poems without any thought of quotation.

Specimen IV has not been listed in Dr. Carleton Brown's *Register*; a variant text is found in a Bodleian MS.

XIII

[Bodl. 6777, fol. 110a]
God þat ys myghtfull;
Spede all ryghtfull;
Helpe all nedefull;
Haue mercy one all synfull.

The changes in phraseology while the sentiments remain identical point to this prayer's having been known orally but not written in any standard form.²⁴ It is easy, seeing this prayer in isolation, to realize that it has a unity of its own, and that it is a complete prayer, albeit of a simple construction. But would we recognize it so easily when it forms part of a longer prayer? We are fortunate in having an example where this prayer tag is submerged. It occurs in a litany (written in the hand of Dame Kateryne Moleyns, prioress *ca.* 1500 of the mixed monastery of Kyngton) which, like specimen XII, might be taken for an original composition; but in fact it is a variant of No. 1328 in Brown's *Register of Middle English religious verse*. The first quatrain in the prioress' text has been turned into prose, and between the last stanza and a final couplet ("And for all quik and dede/

²² Ll. 284 ff.

²³ *Register*, No. 2639. Edited by J. O. Halliwell in *Early history of free-masonry in England* (London, 1844), vss. 643-54. The couplet quoted is vss. 645-46. If the worshiper knew any other prayer he was at liberty to use it in the place of the one cited (as in the *Lay folk's mass book*, vss. 655-56): "Thus thou myght say, or sum other thyng / When thou knelest at the sakerynge."

²⁴ On the other hand, Dr. G. G. Coulton believes that the very many versions of the Pater Noster suggest no widespread and systematic teaching of prayers.

Pater noster Aue and Crede" in the Bodleian text) our prayer has been inserted. It reads:

XIV

[Cambridge University Dd. 8. 2, fol. 5a]

Lord, that ys almyghtfulle,
Spede al rightfulle,
Helpe al nedefulle,
Comforte al syke and sorovfulle,
And haue mercy on al synnefulle.
Amen.

This addition is not found in the Bodleian text. In the Gurney variant of No. 1056, a prayer at the Levacion, after the first twelve lines is a prose passage which splits up into a species of verse; admittedly it is separated by a paragraph mark from what precedes:²⁵

XV

[Gurney, fol. 189b]

Almyghty God mercyful,
Haue mercy on me sinful,
And on alle Cristene.
To þe, Lord Iesu,
I me betake,
And to þy Modir blisful.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.
Amen.

A third instance of how easily a little popular prayer can become buried in a longer prayer is seen in specimen VII. The stanza which here is quite separate occurs as the last stanza of No. 916, "A deuout prayere at thy vprysyng"; and again as the last stanza of No. 1051, which is an unrecorded variant of No. 916:

My gode angell, þat arte to me send
Fro God to be my governour,
From all euyll srytes þou me defend,
And in all desesys to be my socoure.
Amen.

A parallel example where an instructional tag has an originally separate existence apart from its inclusion in a longer text is given

²⁵ A third variant of No. 1056 (not noted by Brown) occurs in Cambridge Univ. Lib. II. 6. 2, fol. 98b; this text lacks specimen XV.

by No. 988 of the mid-fifteenth century. It appears detached in three manuscripts. For convenience of comparison I give all texts:

XVI

[Royal 17 A xvi, fol. 27b]²⁶

Hyt semes quite, and is red:
Hyt is quike and semes dede:
Hyt is fleshe and semes bred:
Hyt is on and semes too:
Hyt is God body and no more.

XVII

[Durham Cathedral V i 12, fol. 65a]²⁷

Hit semeth whiȝth and hit is reed:
Hit is quyk and semeþ deed:
Hit is flessch and semeth breed:
And verey God in His Godhed.

XVIII

[Copenhagen Royal Library 29264, fol. 325a]²⁸

He ys quycke that semyth dede:
And also flecsh that semyth brede:
He ys one that semyth moo:
And very God that semyth nott soo.

This undoubtedly was a favorite tag for doctrinal instruction on the Mass; later it was taken over by Ryman into his carol as the second stanza;²⁹ and it appears in a sixteenth-century carol in Richard Hill's commonplace book.³⁰ The same four lines form part of the "Long charter of Christ."³¹ It is only by accident that the Royal, Durham, and Copenhagen texts have been preserved: without them we should not have realized the independent existence of the tag, for it is so entwined in the structure of these two carols and the longer poem that it would normally be passed by.

We may now conclude that there was a large number of short prayers in Middle English verse; this list of pieces, preserved by accident and not by design, is certainly not exhaustive. These prayers would serve for any man or woman, who would not normally use a

²⁶ The MS is an astronomical kalendar.

²⁷ Appended to a Latin treatise.

²⁸ My sincere thanks are due to Professor Carleton Brown, who gave me his photostat of this text.

²⁹ *Register*, No. 2301.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 1296.

³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 2644, vs. 117-20.

prayer-book, to say on going to bed, on passing a crucifix, or during service in church. Such devotions are for the "lewede men þat conneþ nouȝt vnderstonde latyn ne frensch"³² what the "main corpus of private prayers" is for the literate upper classes.

Another source of simple prayers is the commonplace books and notebooks of preachers. The English tags taught during the sermons or instructions are of a similar type to the "flyleaf" prayers. In the *Fasciculus morum* there is an unpublished ten-line prayer to the Virgin:

XIX

[Caius Camb. 71, fol. 17b]³³
 Mary Modur of grace we cry to þe,
 Moder of mercy and of pyte,
 Put vs fro þe Fendes fondyng,
 And helpe vs at oure last endyng;
 And to þi Sone oure pes þou make
 þat He on vs no wreke take.
 To ȝow I cri wyth mylde steuen,
 All þe halowes þat are in Heuen,
 Helpe or Criste my gylth forgyue,
 And will Hym serue will I lyue.

In John Grimestone's commonplace book (National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18. 7. 21) there are three or four prayers, which, like all those printed here, are hitherto unpublished. The common popularity of these tiny pieces is emphasized by the absence of Latin originals; for a majority of Grimestone's tags are direct translations.

XX

[Advocates 18. 7. 21, fol. 42a]³⁴
 Iesu, my suete with,
 þat alle þingge hast wrouth,
 þat come fro Heuene lith
 And hast me dere bouth;
 þu ȝeue me wil and mith
 To ben elene in þouth,
 To kepen þe o rith
 þat I ne senne nouth.

Amen.

³² Harley MS 2398, an unpublished instructional tract in English written for such people.

³³ Register, No. 1327, and in many other texts of the *Fasciculus*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1061.

XXI

[Advocates 18. 7. 21, fol. 85a]³⁵

Lord Iesu, þin ore,
 I sorwe and sike sore;
 þat bringet me to grunde.
 I haue senned sore
 W^e sennes lesse and more;
 Allas! Allas! þe stounde!

XXII

[Advocates 18. 7. 21, fol. 119b]³⁶

God Lord þat sittes in trone,
 Nu and euer þu here my mone;
 Send with and widsom in myn herte
 To hauen mynde of þi wondis smerte,
 On wich manere þu deyzedest on Rode
 Wan for vs zeue þin herte blode;
 An þi bodi to ben raged and rent
 Wan it was on Rode bent
 For me, wreche, þat gilte to þe;
 Of my soule þu haue pite,
 þat I mouwe comen to þi blisse
 þat euere w^outen ende sal leste.

Amen.

XXIII

[Advocates 18. 7. 21, fol. 122a]³⁷

Oracio bona:

Mi Lord with herte I preyze þe, withouten vois wol stille,
 þi wil to known þu grante me, þat it mote fulfille;
 More loue may no man schewe
 þan suffren det for loue trewe.

These commonplace prayers were essentially "popular" and for use by all people. In consequence, they are very simple, rarely exceeding four lines, and with a very primitive rhyme scheme. It would have been an easy matter to evolve a prayer from the pious ejaculations of that time. Contemporary poems occasionally quote what

³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 1218.³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 594.³⁷ Not listed in Brown's *Register*.

must have been well-known tiny prayers in their text. The "Fifteen signs before Doomsday" has several: I quote from the Brome MS:³⁸

He wold spekyn, and he mith,
And cryen, "Mersey! Jesu Cryste,"
And klepen, "Jesu, thyn ore."

Another poem, *Ipotis*, likewise in the Brome MS, gives a second example:³⁹

And seyde, "Fadyr yn Trynyte,
My sowle I bequethe to The."

In Chaucer's *Reeve's tale*, the wife, when awakened, cries out:⁴⁰

"Help, holy cros of Bromholme!" sche sayde,
In manus tuas, Lord, to The I calle."

The second line begins several little prayers, such as No. 969:

Into þi handes Lorde I take my soule.

For short prayers very similar, and indeed translating the Latin, there are specimen VIII, and Nos. 948 and 1210.

There is a brief "Oracio de nomine IHU" in a devotional manual, Cambridge University Library, MS II. 6. 43 (fol. 94b), which illustrates the stringing-together of simple ejaculations, as in the above quotations, into a prayer. The ease and simplicity is outstanding. This example is prose, and indicates the first step:

XXIV

[Cambridge University II. 6. 43, fol. 94b]

O gode IHU. O swete IHU. O þe Sone of Marye, full of mercy and pyte.
O swete IHU after þy greet mercy haue mercy on me. Amen.

The literary ability needed to write such an "Oracio de nomine IHU" is negligible, and scarcely greater is the creative power for any of the verse prayers. So we come across little couplets, scribbled in the MSS, which are simply rhymed ejaculations—ejaculations which occur again and again in longer poems, and which must have leaped almost instinctively to anybody's lips when the need for prayer of a personal nature was felt.

³⁸ *Register*, No. 1126. The poems in the Brome MS, a typical fifteenth-century commonplace book, are full of these tags. See especially vs. 241-42 of this poem; No. 1086 (vs. 248-50); No. 613.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 140.

⁴⁰ *Canterbury tales*, A. 4286-87.

XXV

[Canterbury Cathedral]⁴¹
 God blesse bothe the and me
 And the Holy TrynYTE.
 Amen so mote yt be.

XXVI

[Royal 17 A xvi, fol. 27b]
 In all this worlde ys none so tru,
 As she that bare our Lorde Jhesu.

XXVII

[Royal 8 F vi, fol. 21a]⁴²
 Mary, for thine yoys fyve,
 Tech me be vey to ryth lyve.

XXVIII

[Trinity Cambridge 367, catchword]
 Ihesus Lord of mȳt,
 Kepe vs boþe day and niȳt.

XXIX

[University Coll. Oxford 123]⁴³
 Jhesu, Lorde, Thi blesside life,
 Helpe and coumforte oure wrechede life.
 Amen.

Only slightly more diffuse is a three-line effort in an Oxford MS.

XXX

[Bodl. 1491]⁴⁴
 Sauour of the worlde saue ous,
 That by Thy cros and Thy blod Thow hast bouȳth ous;
 Lorde God we prayet The helpe ous.

For al maner yuel temptacion let a man say thys ywryt
 abowe thre tymes, and at yche tyme mak a cros in his
 brest and he ssal bue thelyuerd and holpe anon.

Readers and listeners have always welcomed familiar lines, and once these little prayers were in circulation, it would be found profit-

⁴¹ *Historical manuscripts commission*, Third Report, Appendix, p. 105: inventory of household articles of monks, a mazer with this inscription.

⁴² Cf. *Register*, No. 1506, vss. 130, 132: "I pray the for thi loyes fyue / Me to amende here in this lue."

⁴³ Item 2; cf. Brasenose Oxford 9, flyleaf at end of *Love's mirror*.

⁴⁴ Printed in the *Cat. cod. MSS. Laud* (Oxford, 1858), p. 428.

able to incorporate them as ascriptions in longer poems. This inclusion is further indirect evidence of the popularity and extent of these little religious lyrics. Child wrote of a prayer at the end of the *Agenbite of inwyte*.⁴⁵

The point to which I would call attention is that this prayer (the same is true to a less notable extent of the other cases cited) is a good example of the free use made in religious verse of "tags" or religious kennings, as they might be called,—of which the phrase "maide and moder mylde" is a typical example.

By now the reader will appreciate the independence of the following ascriptions or "kennings":

That Jesu haue on vs pete
As He bowth vs on the Rode tre,
That we mown cume to Hys blyse,
Jesus, Lord, yf Thy wyll ys.⁴⁶

The Fadyr, þe Sone, and the Holy Goste
Lord and kyng of mytys moste.⁴⁷

The song of the Indian girl in the *Speculum sacerdotale*, introduced into a sermon for St. Thomas' Day, is nothing more or less than a number of tags unified into a stanza. There is, incidentally, a second text of this whole treatise not hitherto noted in Bodleian MS 11247, beginning at folio 69a:⁴⁸

And the songe that sche songe was in the tonge of Hebrewe and is turnyd into Englysshe tonge thus in this maner:

O God is in Heuene,
Man of mylde steuene,
Heuene and erþe he made of noȝt,
And vs alle on the rode he bought.
He wote the grounde of yche see
And the peynes in helle that be.
He is a kynge of alle kyngis,
And to hym lowteþ alle þyngis.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *MLN*, X (1896), 64.

⁴⁶ *Register*, No. 140, vss. 77–80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 1642, vss. 282–83; cf. No. 1224 (fol. 120b): "Lorde þat art of myȝtis moost / fadir and sone and holy goost." See also No. 1642, vss. 52–53: "To the fader and sone and the holy goste / That ys kyng and lord of mytys moste."

⁴⁸ Poem in text quoted from *EETS* (1936), 200, 252.

⁴⁹ For vss. 3–4 cf. Palden's hymn on the flyleaf of Royal 2 B x: "Iesu that all thys worlde hath wrought / Heven and erthe ye made of nowght"; also No. 607 (*Prognostications*, Longleat MS): "God that all the worlde hath wrowghte / And all mankynd hath maad of nought."

The habit of using such kennings to conclude any poem, religious or secular, was common in the minstrel pieces. Even where least expected, a prayer will crop up: in a description of fortune-telling by dice:⁵⁰

Synke and trey was 3owr schauns;
 God ys myty 3ow to a-wauns,
 Be trew and trost in Mary myld,
 And sche wyll 3ow fro schame schyld.

The delimitation of the ascriptions to a religious convention with only little force of prayer does not of course apply to those in sermons or devotional tracts; thus at the end of a fifteenth-century tract:⁵¹

Now God that al this world made of nou3t
 Bi his passioun he made us free
 Save that he dere bou3t
 And late it never lorne be.

The listing of short prayers—kennings, ejaculations, prayer tags, prayer commonplaces, call them what you will—could be continued indefinitely through every work in Middle English! But I have cited sufficient examples, I believe, to show (1) the utilization of the popular verse prayer tags in longer poems; (2) the occasional independent existence of a prayer tag which may be taken as typical of the original condition of hundreds of prayers now imbedded; (3) the remarkable sanity of popular religion in the Middle Ages as revealed by the corpus of private vernacular prayers and by this group of popular prayers of the people; (4) most important, the connection between popular religion and its expression in verse. The majority of prayers, both for literate and "lewed," are, owing to the mnemonic qualities, rhymed, and are found in several texts, contrasting with what prose prayers there are, which are generally unique. Any consideration of the Middle English religious lyric must take into account these forgotten prayers of the common people.

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⁵⁰ In the Brome MS, ed. L. T. Smith. For another commonplace prayer at the end of a long poem see C. Horstman, *Altenglische Legenden* ("Neue Folge" [1881]), p. 499, in a story of a Paris clerk who desired to see the beauty of the B.V.M.—"Lady, flower and fruit of Iesse, / Thou art maiden good and hende / Goddes mother, mild and free; / Mickle thou helpest all mankind: / On thy servant have pitie, / And save us, [Ladie] from the fiend, / And grant us, if thy will it be, / When we shall out of this world wend, / When we shall wend out of this live / Hear our prayer and our steven; / Bring us, for thy joyes five, / Into the sweete bliss of Heaven. / Amen."

⁵¹ G. R. Owst in *Transactions of St. Albans and Hertford Archeological Society* (1924).

MILTON'S USE OF THE VISION OF ER

JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT

IN ALL Plato the passage which most powerfully fired Milton's poetic imagination was the Vision of Er in the tenth book of the *Republic*. He versified a scene from it in the *Arcades* (ll. 62-73), as critics have already noted,¹ but the much more extensive and significant use which Milton makes of the Vision of Er, in *Paradise lost*, seems to have escaped the notice of his commentators. The journey of Satan on the outside shell of the universe, from the spot where he lands on his way up from Hell to a point just below Heaven's gate,² bears a striking resemblance to the journey of Er.

It will be remembered that Satan set out to discover the newly created world, and that Chaos directed him to it, saying:

Now lately Heaven and Earth, another World
Hung ore my Realm, link'd in a golden Chain
To that side Heav'n from whence your Legions
fell . . . [II, 1004-6].

Satan ascends to the solid outside shell of this world (III, 418 ff.), which seems

a boundless Continent
Dark, waste, and wild . . .
Save on that side which from the wall of Heav'n
Though distant farr som small reflection gains
Of glimmering air less vext with tempest loud;
. . . . [ll. 423-29].

¹ T. N. Orchard, *Milton's astronomy* (New York, 1913), pp. 70-72. Milton's further use of Plato is discussed by R. B. Levinson, "Milton and Plato," *MLN*, XLVI (1931), 85-91; and Herbert Agar, *Milton and Plato* (Princeton, 1928). Mr. Agar traces Milton's frequent references to the music of the spheres to Plato (see pp. 37, 20-21, and appendix Nos. 2, 3, 13, 22), but the idea was Pythagorean, and widespread. It appears in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Macrobius, Chaucer, and Shakespeare. For its currency see *The paradise of dainty devices*, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, 1927), No. 35 and notes on pp. 206-7.

² Orchard (pp. 77-78, 86-88) argues that these two points are very near each other, but in that case the darkness, Satan's long journey, and the "ten thousand Leagues" through which fools are blown from one place to the other are not accounted for. M. Y. Hughes in his edition of *Paradise lost* (New York, 1935; p. xxiii) follows Orchard.

The fiend, coming up from Hell, lands at first on that "Backside of the World" where later there will be a Paradise of Fools, on the opposite side from Heaven and its light.

All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,
And long he wanderd, till at last a gleame
Of dawning light turned thither-ward in haste
His travell'd steps . . . [ll. 498-501].

This gleam of light shines from Heaven's gate and illuminates the golden stair which is now said to connect the outside surface of the universe with Heaven, and which takes the place of the golden chain mentioned in the earlier description. Satan, when he arrives at the foot of the stair, looks down through an opening in the shell of the universe upon which he has been traveling, and sees

A passage down to th'Earth, a passage wide [l. 528].

It is by way of this passage that souls ascend from earth to heaven.

They pass the Planets seven, and pass the fixt,
And that Crystalline Sphear whose ballance weighs
The Trepidation talkt, and that first mov'd;
And now Saint *Peter* at Heav'ns Wicket seems
To wait them with his Keys, and now at foot
Of Heav'ns ascent they lift thir Feet, . . . [ll. 481-86].

Milton's visualization of the universe from the spot where Satan is standing is very clear and definite. Satan is standing at the foot of the golden ladder which connects the universe with Heaven. He looks up the ladder and sees Heaven's gate at the top of it. He looks down through an opening in the concentric spheres which constituted the universe according to the popular conception of the Ptolemaic system,³ and sees the earth.

Plato describes Er as going on a similar journey to just such a place. Er's soul, temporarily separated from his body, finds itself in a "mysterious place" somewhere between heaven and earth, on a plain or meadow, from which it sets out with other souls:

and, on the fourth day after, he said that they came to a place where they could see from above a line of light, straight as a column, extending right through the whole heaven and through the earth, in colour resembling the rainbow, only brighter and purer; another day's journey brought them to the

³ In the simplified form which Milton describes, the system was really Aristotelian. See Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical thought in Renaissance England* (Baltimore, 1937), chap. II.

place, and there, in the midst of the light, they saw the ends of the chains of heaven let down from above: . . . From these ends is extended the spindle of Necessity, on which all the revolutions [of the spheres] turn.

This spindle is the axis of the universe, along which are arranged eight "whorls"

like vessels which fit into one another; the whorls show their edges on the upper side, and on the lower side all together form one continuous whorl. This is pierced by the spindle, which is driven home through the center of the eighth.⁴

From what follows we learn that these "whorls" perform the same function as the spheres of the Ptolemaic system.

It is evident from what he sees that Er, like Satan, is on the outside of the universe looking down into it along its axis.⁵ The long journey, the guiding beam of light near the end of it, the chain in the midst of the light,⁶ and the opening down through the spheres to earth, are elements of similarity between Milton's conception and Plato's. Just how Plato imagined the "whorls" to be shaped commentators do not agree, but we know, from the passage in the *Arcades* (l. 64) where he calls them "the nine enfolded Sphears,"⁷ that Milton, in his reading of Plato, interpreted the whorls as the spheres of the so-called Ptolemaic system.

Satan descends through the opening in the shell of the universe and stops on the sun for a chat with Uriel. During the course of the talk Uriel describes the creation of the world to him. Uriel's creation story is not the one which appears in Genesis, but the one given by Plato in the *Timaeus*.⁸

⁴ B. Jowett, *The dialogues of Plato* (3rd ed.; Oxford, 1892), III, 333.

⁵ W. F. Warner, *The universe as pictured in Milton's "Paradise lost"* (New York, 1915), pp. 50 ff., points out that the "passage wide" is through the pole. Raphael descends on the "polar winds" (V, 269), and in *At a vacation exercise*, ll. 33-35, Milton says:

"Such where the deep transported mind may soare
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heav'n's dore
Look in, . . ."

⁶ The golden chain was a classical tradition, going back to Homer. Milton mentions it in II, 1004-6, quoted above, but in the passage under discussion he converts it into Jacob's ladder.

⁷ Aristotle added a ninth sphere, or *primum mobile*, to Plato's eight, and still others were added later.

⁸ E. C. Baldwin, "Milton and Plato's *Timaeus*," *PMLA*, XXXV (1920), 210-17, points out that the creation by an ordering of chaos is Platonic. The separation of chaos into the four elements, and the reduction of the elements to order comes from the *Timaeus*; but the creation of the stars and heavens out of an "Ethereal quintessence" is Aristotelian, at least in name.

Evidently both the *Timaeus* and the Vision of Er were in Milton's mind when he wrote this passage, and it seems probable that both contributed to his cosmological conception. If so, it may have been from the *Timaeus* that he took his notion that the universe was surrounded by a solid shell, or sphere; although such an idea was current in ancient times.⁹ Plato says, in the *Timaeus*, that the Creator "made the world in the form of a globe, round as from a lathe. . . . This he finished off, making the surface smooth all round for many reasons."¹⁰ Ficino, the standard commentator on Plato in Milton's day,¹¹ says in his commentary on this passage, "Vertigium, autem, id est, coelum ex Adamante rursus, aliisque materijs, scilicet astris non solum fixis. . . ."¹²

Milton's whole mental picture of the universe as a globe suspended from Heaven by a golden chain—a globe which is a shell enclosing the "nine enfolded Sphears"—is a classical one, although certain elements in the conception are peculiar. His location of Heaven and Hell outside of the universe was not unprecedented; and the chaos which surrounds his universe is borrowed from the atomists. His indebtedness to Plato lies, not in these features, but in the pictorial device of the journey on the outside of the universe to an opening through which the traveler looks down, along the axis, and sees a passage through all the spheres to earth at the center.

If we recognize that Milton had Plato's Vision of Er in mind when he described Satan's journey, what he has to say of Limbo takes on

⁹ A. H. Gilbert, "The outside shell of Milton's world," *SP*, XX (1923), 444-47, discusses the medieval sources of this idea. F. R. Johnson (chap. II) sketches the astronomical background of the idea. Lucian, *On sacrifices* (*Works*, Loeb ed., III, 163 f.), says heaven "is bronze on the outside we learn from Homer." When one climbs over the edge and up on the "back" it is brighter and more light than on earth and there are the houses of the gods. Pliny (*Natural history*, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley [London: Bohn, 1855], II, 2, 3) says that the world is a perfect globe. He speaks of "us who are in the interior," and asserts that the figures of the constellations are impressed on this globe and "its surface is not perfectly polished like the eggs of birds, as some celebrated authors assert."

Milton's idea of a chaos outside of the shell of the universe is Lucretian or atomic, rather than Platonic. Both Plato and Aristotle say that all of chaos was used in the making of the universe, and nothing was left over. Eusebius (*Evangelicae praeparationis*, xv, 38, 42) cites Parmenides, Leucippus, Democritus, and Empedocles for ideas about a wall, or solid boundary of the universe.

¹⁰ Jowett, III, 452.

¹¹ Ficino was the Jowett of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His commentary was printed both with his translation and separately, and even with other people's translations and with the Greek text.

¹² *Opera divini Platonis omnia* (Basle, 1532), p. 659.

fresh significance. It has been pointed out that Milton's Limbo owes its name to medieval theology,¹³ and its satire to Ariosto,¹⁴ but the medieval Limbo was situated on the borders of Hell, and Ariosto put his Paradise of Fools on the moon, while Milton's Limbo is located on the "backside" or bottom of the solid outside shell of the universe.

Let us turn back to Satan's first arrival upon the sphere of the universe:

Mean while upon the firm opacous Globe
Of this round World, whose first convex divides
The luminous inferior Orbs, enclos'd
From *Chaos* and th'inroad of Darkness old,
Satan alighted walks: a Globe farr off
It seem'd, now seems a boundless Continent
Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
Starless expos'd, and ever-threatning storms
Of *Chaos* blustering round, inclement skie; . . . [III, 418-26].

To this place will come the souls of those who die in folly. They will rise through the passage opening through all of the spheres to earth, and when they come to the outside shell of the universe

Saint *Peter* at Heav'ns Wicket seems
To wait them with his Keys, and now at foot
Of Heav'ns ascent they lift thir Feet, when loe
A violent cross wind from either Coast
Blows them transverse ten thousand Leagues awry
Into the devious Air; . . .

All these upwhirled aloft
Fly o're the backside of the World farr off
Into a *Limbo* large and broad, since call'd
The Paradise of Fools, . . . [III, 484-96].

The place is described as a vast, windy plain:

Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field.
As when a Vultur on *Imaus* bred
. . . lights on the barren plaines
Of *Sericana*, where *Chineses* drive
With Sails and Wind thir canie Waggon light:
So on this windie Sea of Land, the Fiend
Walk'd up and down . . . [III, 430-41].

¹³ *Milton's poetical works*, ed. D. Masson (London, 1890), III, 432 n. The idea of such a limbo is to be found in English literature from the Middle English period onward.

¹⁴ *Orlando furioso*, XXXIV, 73-86. See *Paradise lost*, ed. A. W. Verity (Cambridge, 1929), note on III, 444 ff.

This great, windy plain to which souls come on their journey from Earth to Heaven bears considerable resemblance to the plain where Er first arrived after his soul left his body:

He said that when his soul left the body he went on a journey with a great company, and that they came to a mysterious place at which there were two openings in the earth [i.e., the plain where he had arrived; not to be confused with the planet, Earth]; they were near together, and over against them were two other openings in the heaven above. In the intermediate space there were judges seated, who commanded the just, . . . to ascend by the heavenly way on the right hand; and in like manner the unjust were bidden by them to descend by the lower way on the left hand; . . . Then he beheld and saw on one side the souls departing at either opening of heaven and earth when sentence had been given on them; and at the two other openings other souls, some ascending out of the earth dusty and worn with travel, some descending out of heaven clean and bright.¹⁵

This "mysterious place" is clearly somewhere between earth and Heaven, since souls come down to it from Heaven or up from earth.¹⁶ It is just such a half-way place as Milton describes as the site of Limbo. He would naturally reduce Plato's four openings to two, since he did not believe in the pre-existence and descent of souls to earth. But in Milton, as in Plato, souls rise up from earth through an opening in a plain from which some finish the ascent to Heaven, while others do not.

The account of the inhabitants of Limbo occupies the same place in Milton's story of the journey as is occupied by a description of the inhabitants of purgatory in the Vision of Er. Plato says that some of the souls coming up to the "mysterious place" report of the punishment suffered for a longer or shorter time by those who have been unjust during their lives on earth. Milton did not believe in purgatory, and he does not give us a judgment scene such as Er describes; but it is just at this point in their ascent toward Heaven, when they have

¹⁵ Jowett, III, 331.

¹⁶ Plato's idea of the location of this place in the cosmic system is still a matter of debate. R. L. Nettleship, in his *Philosophical lectures and remains*, II, 361, n. 3, expresses the belief that this meadow is outside of the cosmos (i.e., the universe). The Platonic notion of a place of respite in the soul's journey from earth to heaven has an important place in ancient and medieval literature. Plutarch discussed it in his essay *Of the face appearing in the orb of the moon*. Cicero imitated the Vision of Er in his *Dream of Scipio*, and Macrobius' elaborate commentary on Cicero's *Dream* enjoyed general currency. There were both medieval and Renaissance imitations; but most writers located the scene on the sphere of the moon and associated it with the Elysian fields. Ariosto selected this lunar site for his Paradise of Fools. But Milton seems to have been aware of the literary ancestry of Ariosto's idea. At least he is historically correct in associating it with the Vision of Er.

come up through the opening below and see the opening above (which is the gate of Heaven), that Milton makes the judgment of God fall upon fools.

And now Saint *Peter* at Heav'n's Wicket seems
To wait them with his Keys, and now at foot
Of Heav'n's ascent they lift their Feet, . . .

when suddenly they are blown away into Limbo.

Milton's account of the occupants of Limbo fills the same place in his description of Satan's journey as the judgment and purgatory scene fills in Plato. In making the substitution Milton may have been following a suggestion derived from Ficino's commentary on this passage in Plato. Ficino says:

The meadow, in which souls ascending and descending rest for a while, is in some middle region between the lower world and the heavens, and in character it is between a good and an evil state, and its condition is between bliss and misery, it is described like limbo in the air [limbo similis in aëre designatus]. Here attend souls which in a former life had mutual acquaintance and in the next they recognize each other. Likewise in such a meadow reside longest the souls, according to the Platonists, of those who die in infancy.¹⁷

Ficino links the "mysterious place," or meadow, visited by Er with the medieval Limbo, not only in name but also by the presence there of the souls of infants.¹⁸

Two important changes are made by Milton in the structure of the Platonic vision. He not only reduces the four openings to two, but he combines what is said of the openings in the first scene with the opening at the spindle of Necessity in Plato's second scene. In the first scene Plato mentions two openings "in the Heaven above" and two leading down to earth. In the second scene, at the spindle of Necessity, he merely mentions the "ends of the chains of Heaven let down from above" and the view down through the "whorls." Milton combines the two images putting the "Gate of Heav'n" at the axis of the universe:

Direct against which op'nd from beneath,
Just o're the blissful seat of Paradise,
A passage down to th'Earth, a passage wide, . . . [III, 526-28].

¹⁷ Translated from Ficino's *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1641), II, 388b.

¹⁸ Most medieval writers relegated the souls of unbaptized infants to Limbo.

Except for the consolidation of openings, and the substitution of the Miltonic Limbo, located at the point where Satan first arrived, for Plato's purgatory, located somewhere below the "mysterious place" where Er first arrived, the journey of Satan follows very closely the pattern of the Vision of Er. Both begin with an account of a plain where souls sojourn between Heaven and earth, a plain or "meadow" which is also between Heaven and Hell. Both describe a journey and a second scene which involves the chain by which the universe is suspended from Heaven; this second scene is lighted from Heaven, and centers about an opening which provides a view down through the concentric spheres to earth at the center.

The parallel is interesting, not so much because it adds considerably to the body of material which Milton has been shown to have derived from Plato, as because it seems to illustrate the workings of his imagination. The geography of the Vision of Er, clarified by the cosmology of the *Timaeus* and of Aristotle, emerges from Milton's mind as a clear-cut and definite pattern in which every detail is fully visualized and logically worked out. The visionary quality which keeps Plato's Er in the realm of myth and dream is gone in Milton. In its place we have clarity, and a vast, orderly grandeur which loses in spiritual significance but gains in scenic and dramatic effect.

Once the similarity between the two journeys has been recognized, it seems natural enough that Milton should use as the model for his cosmic journey the most famous and most frequently imitated classical account of such a journey.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

SOME NOTES ON COLERIDGE'S "EOLIAN HARP"

HENRY J. W. MILLEY

I

THE Eolian harp" occupies an important position in the body of Coleridge's poetry. "No one reading the poems in their chronological order," says Campbell, "can fail to observe that this poem marks an era in the development of Coleridge's powers of expression, both as regards melody and individuality";¹ and Harper says that it is "in substance his first important and at the same time characteristic poem."² Unfortunately these same critics who have pointed out the importance of "The Eolian harp" have also made several misleading statements about it which have obscured certain aspects in the development not only of Coleridge but also of Wordsworth.

Harper says at another point: ". . . until he met Wordsworth,"³ which was probably in 1795, Coleridge wrote in the manner which had been fashionable since the death of Milton, employing without hesitation all those poetic licences which constituted what he later termed 'Gaudyverse,' in contempt."⁴ From these statements of Harper's—that "The Eolian harp" is Coleridge's "first important and . . . characteristic poem," and that "until he met Wordsworth" he wrote "Gaudyverse" most uncharacteristic of his later style—it would appear that "The Eolian harp" was written after Coleridge met Wordsworth, and that Wordsworth was responsible for the remarkable improvement in the quality of his verse.

"The Eolian harp" was first printed in *Poems on various subjects* (1796), as "Effusion XXXV, Composed August 20th, 1795, at Clevedon, Somersetshire," the title, "The Eolian harp," not being added

¹ *The poetical works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. James Dykes Campbell (London, 1893), p. 578. This will be referred to as *Works*, ed. Campbell.

² George McLean Harper, "Coleridge's conversation poems," *Quarterly review*, CXXIV (April, 1925), 288. This will be referred to as Harper.

³ The italics are mine.

⁴ Harper, p. 287.

until *Sibylline leaves* (1817).⁵ Harper's statement that Coleridge met Wordsworth "probably in 1795" thus allows a wide margin for the meeting to have taken place before August 20, 1795, the date of the composition of the first draft of "The Eolian harp."⁶

The question of the exact date of the first meeting between Coleridge and Wordsworth has been examined thoroughly elsewhere,⁷ and need not be discussed in detail here. The point has never been finally settled, although de Selincourt's statement is usually accepted: that "W. W. and S. T. C. met in September 1795."⁸ One thing, however, is certain: Wordsworth and Coleridge could not have met before August 20, 1795, the date of the composition of the first draft of "The Eolian harp," as the following piece of evidence clearly shows. In a note to "Lines written at Shurton Bars" in September, 1795, Coleridge acknowledges a borrowing from Wordsworth's *Evening walk*; and in a copy of his *Poems* (edition of 1797) he adds in his own handwriting: "This note was written before I had ever seen Mr. Wordsworth, *atque utinam opera ejus tantum noveram*."⁹ It is evident therefore that the remarkable improvement in the quality of Coleridge's verse could not, as Harper implies, have been due to Wordsworth's personal influence, but must have resulted from some other cause.

There is, first, the possibility that Coleridge in "The Eolian harp" may have been influenced, not by Wordsworth himself, but by such poetry as Wordsworth had published before that date. Wordsworth's *Evening walk* and *Descriptive sketches* were published in 1793, and Coleridge was already acquainted with them in the autumn of that year.¹⁰ In view of the comparatively low estimate in which these poems are now held, Coleridge's enthusiasm over *Descriptive sketches*

⁵ In the editions of 1797 and 1803 the heading of the poem was simply "Composed at Clevedon, Somersetshire."

⁶ The connection between the draft and the published version of "Effusion XXXV" will be discussed later. The poem will be referred to hereafter by its more familiar title of "The Eolian harp."

⁷ See W. Knight, *Coleridge and Wordsworth in the West Country* (London, 1913), pp. 3-8; James Dykes Campbell, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London, 1894), p. 64 n. (this will be referred to as *Narrative*); Emile Légoûls, *The early life of William Wordsworth, 1770-1798* (London, Toronto, and New York, 1932), pp. 320-21 n.

⁸ Ernest de Selincourt, ed., *The Prelude, text of 1805* (London, 1933), p. 309.

⁹ *Works*, ed. Campbell, p. 577.

¹⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (Oxford, 1907), I, 56 and 223 n.

seems excessive: ". . . seldom, if ever," he says, "was the emergence of an original poetic genius above the literary horizon more evidently announced"; in particular, he admired Wordsworth's powers of observation in his depiction of the "products of the vegetable world."¹¹ But Coleridge's praise of the poem was not unqualified: he noted its "obscurities," and the "worse defect of arbitrary and illogical phrases, at once hackneyed, and fantastic, which . . . will, more or less, alloy the earlier poems of the truest genius."¹² In comparing the two poems one is puzzled to understand how the "hackneyed," stilted couplets of *Descriptive sketches* could have had such a remarkable effect upon the "fluent and easy"¹³ blank verse of "The Eolian harp."

If, however, the development of Coleridge's powers of expression manifested in "The Eolian harp" is due to the influence of *An evening walk* and *Descriptive sketches*, there is the curious anomaly that these two poems failed to have the same effect upon any other poem of Coleridge's written between the date of their publication, 1793, and the composition of "The Eolian harp" in 1795. Thus in one of the best poems of this period, "Lines: to a beautiful spring in a village,"¹⁴ written in 1794—a theme which provided opportunities for natural observation such as he had admired in *Descriptive sketches*—there are all those "hackneyed" qualities which Coleridge had condemned in the latter, and none of its virtues. There is the empty pastoral convention, for instance, in which the stream is "Zephyr-haunted" (l. 5) and "The rustic . . . leans upon his crook" (ll. 17-18); and there is the periphrasis of eighteenth-century phraseology, where "The elfin tribe . . . Launch paper navies on thy waveless breast" (ll. 13-16). The closing lines, with their personification and sentimental moralizing, are a fair sample of the verse:

Unboastful Stream! thy fount with pebbled falls
The faded form of past delight recalls,
What time the morning sun of Hope arose,
And all was joy; save when another's woes
A transient gloom upon my soul imprest,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹³ Harper, p. 288.

¹⁴ All quotations in this paper from Coleridge's poetry, unless otherwise stated, are taken from *The complete poetical works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Oxford, 1912). This will be referred to as *Works*, ed. Coleridge. The first, second, and third editions of Coleridge's poems will be used only when the exact dating of certain passages is important.

Like passing clouds impictur'd on thy breast.
 Life's current then ran sparkling to the noon,
 Or silvery stole beneath the pensive Moon:
 Ah! now it works rude brakes and thorns among,
 Or o'er the rough rock bursts and foams along! [ll. 23-32].

Is it likely then that an influence which, to judge by the effect, is itself doubtful, should have had no effect upon Coleridge's poetry for two years, and then have such a remarkable effect in "The Eolian harp"?

When Harper says, then, of "The Eolian harp," that "the influence of Wordsworth is to be seen in small details, such as a bold and faithful reference to the scents 'snatched from yon beanfield,'"¹⁵ we are forced to look for another explanation. The explanation cannot be found, as we have seen, in Wordsworth's personal influence, and it is improbable, as we have also seen, that it is to be sought in the influence of Wordsworth's published works, *An evening walk* and *Descriptive sketches*. The true explanation is, I think, a simple one: that Coleridge in "The Eolian harp" for the first time, for himself, discovered the countryside, and that this new influence gave him a lyrical intensity, enriched his imagery, stimulated his thought, and made his verse "fluent and easy."

I do not mean, of course, that before "The Eolian harp" Coleridge had shown no interest in nature, for, as Shawcross says, "The symbolic interpretation of nature, and the symbolic use of natural images, was . . . a fact and an object of reflection to Coleridge, even before the period of his settlement at Stowey";¹⁶ in "Religious musings," for instance, begun on Christmas Eve, 1794, he speaks of "the Great Invisible (by symbols only seen)" (ll. 9-10), and exclaims:

. . . Fair the vernal mead,
 Fair the high grove, the sea, the sun, the stars;
 True impress each of their creating Sire! [ll. 14-16].

But there is no indication in these allusions to nature that Coleridge was writing with his eye "steadily fixed upon his object," or that, as in the case of Wordsworth, they were "Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart." They were, in fact, part of a theory which he got from

¹⁵ Harper, p. 288. In the first draft the passage reads:
 "What snatches of perfume
 The noiseless gale from yonder bean-field wafts!" [ll. 9-10].

¹⁶ *Biographia literaria*, I, xx.

books; for, as Shawcross says, "There can . . . be no doubt that the conception of beauty, as the revelation of spirit through matter, had been fostered in him many years before through the study of Plato and the Neo-Platonists."¹⁷

A brief glance at Coleridge's early years shows what little opportunity he had for experiencing nature at first hand. In 1782, at the age of ten, he left the village of Ottery in Devon for Christ's Hospital in London, and until he matriculated at Cambridge in 1792 he "saw nought lovely but the sky and stars," as he says in "Frost at midnight" (l. 53). Until 1794 he was at Cambridge, where politics, poetry, and philosophy engrossed him, and his love-affair with Mary Evans and his interlude in the army were the most memorable events. "What was wanting to him," says Légouis, "or, rather, had been wanting to him during his ten years' residence in London and at Cambridge—what he had lost too early and found too late, was Nature."¹⁸ Nor did he find it in the following summer of 1794 on his walking-tour in Wales; for, as we see later in "Dejection: an ode," grief caused Coleridge to regard natural beauty "with how blank an eye!" (l. 30)—and at this time he was undergoing "one of the most important crises in . . . [his] . . . life," "the Mary Evans affair,"¹⁹ a crisis which was heightened by an accidental meeting with Mary Evans during the tour.²⁰ Coleridge was in no mood for contemplating the landscape; indeed, his only source of comfort seems to have been the poetry of Bowles; for in a sonnet to Bowles, published in the *Morning chronicle* in the same year as the tour (December 26, 1794), he says:

. . . . when the *darker* day of life began,
And I did roam, a thought-bewilder'd man!
Thy kindred Lays an healing solace lent [ll. 6-8].

On his return from the tour the same mood persisted, even after his sudden engagement to Sarah Fricker; for when he visited Lamb in London from December, 1794, until January, 1795, his heart, says Lamb, "was yet bleeding with recent wounds."²¹ Then followed a short stay in Bristol with Southey and Burnett, when he gave lectures on politics and religion, and showed a renewed interest in Pantisocra-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi.

¹⁸ *Narrative*, p. 40.

¹⁹ Légouis, p. 337.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²¹ *The letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. E. V. Lucas (New Haven, 1935), I, 16.

cy. Cottle's generous offer "to buy an unlimited number of verses"²² put two things within his reach: marriage and the country. In August, consequently, a cottage was taken at Clevedon, and on October 4 Coleridge and Sarah Fricker were married. Three days later he wrote to Thomas Poole in words which show that nature had now become an active force in his life and was no longer merely a literary symbol: "On Sunday morning I was *married* at St. Mary's Redcliff, poor Chatterton's church! . . . We are settled, nay, quite domesticated, at Clevedon, our comfortable cot! . . . The prospect around is perhaps more *various* than any in the kingdom. Mine eye gluttonizes the sea, the distant islands, the opposite coast! *I shall assuredly write rhymes*, let the nine Muses prevent it if they can."²³ It was in this mood that he wrote "The Eolian harp" as a monument to the honeymoon at Clevedon.²⁴ Nor was it a passing mood; for in another letter to Poole, written a year later on November 5, 1796, he says: "To live in a beautiful country, and to enure myself as much as possible to the labour of the field, have been for this year past my dream of the day, my sigh at midnight."²⁵

This exultant feeling arising from the contemplation of natural beauty, felt for the first time during the period of "The Eolian harp," had a fundamental effect upon Coleridge's poetry; for a year later, in a letter to John Thelwall written on December 17, 1796, he says: "I feel strongly and I think strongly, but I seldom feel without thinking or think without feeling. Hence, though my poetry has in general a hue of tenderness or passion over it, yet it seldom exhibits unmixed and simple tenderness or passion. My philosophical opinions are blended with or deduced from my feelings, and this, I think, peculiarises my style of writing."²⁶ "The Eolian harp" is the first poem of Coleridge's of which this statement is true in every detail: the "hue of tenderness or passion"—

My pensive Sara! thy soft cheek reclined
Thus on mine arm, most soothing sweet it is
To sit beside our Cot—[ll. 1-3]

²² *Narrative*, p. 46.

²³ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London, 1895), I, 136. The italics are mine.

²⁴ The discussion of "The Eolian harp" as a honeymoon poem is reserved for the next section.

²⁵ *Letters*, I, 173.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

the strong feelings—

Methinks, it should have been impossible
Not to love all things in a world so fill'd—[ll. 30-31]

and the "philosophical opinions . . . blended with or deduced from
. . . those . . . feelings"—

O! the one Life within us and abroad,
Which meets all motion and becomes its soul,
A light in sound, a sound-like power in light,
Rhythm in all thought, and joyance everywhere [ll. 26-29].

The feelings from which these "philosophical opinions" are "deduced" are, as the letters and the poem show, Coleridge's response to natural beauty.

II

"The Eolian harp," as we have already stated, first appeared in *Poems* (1796) with the heading "Effusion XXXV, Composed August 20th, 1795, at Clevedon, Somersetshire." In a note to the poem Campbell says: "It cannot therefore be the honeymoon poem which the omission of this date has misled most readers into believing it to be, for Coleridge's marriage day was the 4th October of that year. It must have been inspired by a previous visit to the cottage and by anticipations."²⁷ This statement of Campbell's has, unfortunately, "misled most readers" ever since, for it is based on a misconception of the poem which has never, as far as I know, been pointed out.

In the same note Campbell gives all the variants of the printed versions of "The Eolian harp" which appeared in the several editions of Coleridge's poems published during his lifetime. It is probable, therefore, from his lack of reference to it in the note, that he had never seen the draft for the first published version of the poem in 1796.²⁸ The draft, which is called "Effusion 35, Clevedon, August 20th, 1795," reads:

My pensive SARA! thy soft Cheek reclin'd
Thus on my arm, how soothing sweet it is
Beside our Cot to sit, our Cot o'er grown
With white-flow'r'd Jasmine and the blossom'd myrtle,

²⁷ *Works*, ed. Campbell, p. 578.

²⁸ This draft, together with the draft for the edition of 1797 (which does not concern us until the fourth section), was first published from Cottle's MSS, preserved in the Library of Rugby School, as part of Appendix I of *Works*, ed. Coleridge, II, 1021.

(Meet emblems they of Innocence and Love!)
 And watch the Clouds, that late were rich with light,
 Slow-sad'ning round, and mark the star of eve
 Serenely brilliant, like thy polish'd Sense,
 Shine opposite! What snatches of perfume
 The noiseless gale from yonder bean-field wafts!
 The stilly murmur of the far-off Sea
 Tells us of Silence! and behold, my love!
 In the half-closed window we will place the Harp,
 Which by the desultory Breeze caress'd,
 Like some coy maid half-willing to be woo'd,
 Utters such sweet upbraidings as, perforce,
 Tempt to repeat the wrong!

Unlike the published version, the draft, as we can see, deals merely with one point of time, the immediate present: there is neither retrospection nor anticipation. Like Rossetti's description of a sonnet, it is "a moment's monument," the moment being the hour of sunset on August 20, 1795, when Coleridge and Sarah, as they sit beside the cottage at Clevedon, are enjoying the sights and sounds and odors of summer, and listening to an eolian harp "in the half-closed window." It is not, nor does it profess to be, a honeymoon poem; but, as Campbell said of the published version, "must have been inspired by a previous visit to the cottage [probably when Coleridge leased it] and by anticipations." What is true of the draft, however, is not necessarily true of the published version.

When the poem was published in the following year it was more than three times its original length, the seventeen lines of the draft having been increased to fifty-six. The additional lines not only widened the scope of the poem enormously, but also completely changed the connotation of the original seventeen lines, even though in form they remained substantially the same. These lines are now juxtaposed to the rest of the poem in such a way as to seem to be a point of retrospection for experiences which probably had not taken place at the time when they were written—that is, on August 20, 1795.²⁹ The poem now deals with two situations. There is, first, the situation, as

²⁹ Edward Thomas, in his guidebook, *A literary pilgrim in England* (London, 1937), says of "The Eolian harp" in his chapter on Coleridge: "The poem as it stands may have been worked at before, during and after the marriage month" (p. 175); but he makes no further comment. His is the only reference to the fact that I have found.

depicted in the draft, of Coleridge and Sarah sitting beside the cottage at evening listening to the eolian harp; and second, there is another situation (or situations³⁰) which has recently occurred in this same setting, and which this particular moment recalls; for "thus," says Coleridge,

. . . . on the midway slope
Of yonder hill I stretch my limbs at noon
.
And tranquil muse upon tranquillity [ll. 26-30].³¹

On these occasions, he says,

Full many a thought uncall'd and undetain'd,
And many idle flitting phantasies,
Traverse my indolent and passive brain
As wild and various, as the random gales
That swell or flutter on this subject Lute! [ll. 31-35].

He then describes the "dim and unhallow'd" (l. 43) thoughts which pass through his brain on these occasions, and reminds Sarah how she has reproved him for them, agreeing with her that it does not behove him to speak thus of "Th' INCOMPREHENSIBLE" (l. 51), who has given him "PEACE, and this COT, and THEE, heart-honor'd Maid!" (l. 56).

In the version of 1796 there are thus two points of time: evening by the cottage, depicted for the first time in the draft of 1795, and noon on the hillside, depicted only in the published version of 1796; and in the scheme of the poem the noon sequence is represented as taking place on some day, or days, previous to the evening sequence. As the noon sequence depicts the honeymoon, which did not begin until October 4, and as the whole poem in the version of 1796 is dated "August 20th, 1795, at Clevedon," it is natural that Campbell, who probably had not seen the draft, should have said that the poem was "inspired . . . by anticipations." As we have seen from the draft, however, it was the evening sequence, *not* describing the honeymoon, which was written first, and the dating of the poem, "August 20th, 1795, at Clevedon," carried over from the draft to the published ver-

³⁰ The poem gives the impression that this second situation occurred on more than one occasion—as, indeed, one would expect on a honeymoon.

³¹ The following quotations are taken from "Effusion XXXV, Composed August 20th, 1795, at Clevedon, Somersetshire," in *Poems on various subjects by S. T. Coleridge* (London and Bristol, 1796).

sion of 1796, really does not apply to the noon, or honeymoon, sequence at all.

This misleading date was dropped by Coleridge himself after the first edition, for he subsequently described the poem simply as having been "Composed at Clevedon, Somersetshire." It remained for Campbell to resurrect it in a moment of misguided scrupulosity and to obscure the fact that in its final form "The Eolian harp" is a honeymoon poem.³²

III

"The Eolian harp," as we have seen, is a fusion of two poems written on separate occasions—the evening sequence, written on August 20, 1795, and the noon sequence, written some time after October 4, the date of the honeymoon—and presented as having occurred in the reverse order to that in which they were composed. The poem, in other words, has really two forms: a poetic form, whereby in the evening sequence the poet recalls the noon sequence; and an essential or concealed form, conditioned by the order in which the several parts of the poem were composed, whereby in the noon sequence the poet recalls the evening sequence. If this essential form of the poem is borne in mind, two possible ways are indicated in which it may have influenced Wordsworth.

"The Eolian harp" is the archetype of Coleridge's conversation poems, and Harper, commenting on the "poignancy of feeling, intimacy of address, and ease of expression" of these poems, notes resemblances in "tone"³³ to some passages in Cowper's *Task*. He does not, however, mention the originality of its form. The *Task* is a long philosophical poem in several books; "The Eolian harp" is a short poem in blank verse, starting in a conversational manner, rising to a

³² It is still possible, of course, that the noon sequence was written sometime between August 20, the date of the draft, and October 4, the date of the honeymoon. But as the poem was not published until the following year it is more reasonable to assume that this sequence, describing the honeymoon, was written after rather than before it, especially as there is no reason for doubt.

It is also possible, in fact probable, that this sequence was written after Coleridge met Wordsworth; but the evening sequence, described in the draft, is enough to show the remarkable development in Coleridge's power; and this, as we have shown, took place before he met Wordsworth. Furthermore, as we shall show in the next section, Coleridge in the noon sequence, far from being influenced by Wordsworth, actually anticipated him in three ways.

³³ Harper, p. 237.

climax of exalted meditation, and returning in the end to the quiet conversational tone of the beginning. In form it obviously owes nothing to the *Task*; indeed, as far as I know, "The Eolian harp" is the first example of its kind in English literature. It was particularly suited to Wordsworth's needs in "Tintern Abbey," for in its effective use of blank verse for both the trivial and the profound, and in its single emotional curve, it achieved a confined spaciousness beyond the scope of a lyric.

In 1797, as the result of their new intimacy, Coleridge and Wordsworth held searching discussions about the various aspects of poetry: its theories and its practice in their own verse. Out of these discussions arose the *Lyrical ballads* of 1798,³⁴ and, indirectly, its subsequent prefaces. In the preface to the 1800 edition of the *Lyrical ballads* Wordsworth discussed the process of poetical inspiration—the exact manner in which a poem was written. It is probable, therefore, that in these discussions Wordsworth would have shown particular interest in Coleridge's method of composition in "The Eolian harp,"³⁵ especially as Coleridge considered it "the most perfect poem I ever wrote."³⁶ The disclosure of its method of composition would emphasize to Wordsworth the originality of its form.

Critics have already pointed out how Wordsworth later made use of the philosophy of "The Eolian harp." A comparison between it and "Tintern Abbey" suggests a similar borrowing of form; for the former anticipates the latter, not only in its single emotional curve, but also, if the essential form of the poem is borne in mind, in every stage through which that curve passes.

There is, first, the similarity of situation: Coleridge and Sarah "stretch" (l. 35) on the hillside, with the "murmur" (l. 11) of the sea in the distance; Wordsworth and Dorothy "repose" (l. 9) beneath the sycamore, with the "murmur" (l. 4) of the Wye below them.³⁷ Each poet then indulges in retrospection over a former experience which has taken place in this same situation: Coleridge recalls the evening when

³⁴ *Biographia literaria*, II, 5 ff.

³⁵ De Selincourt notes an echo of "The Eolian harp" in *The Prelude*. See his edition of *The Prelude*, text of 1805, p. 247.

³⁶ *Works*, ed. Campbell, p. 578.

³⁷ In neither poem is it explicitly stated that the poet's companion is beside him; but as in each instance he turns and addresses her, she must be near.

he and Sarah had listened to an eolian harp; Wordsworth recalls how he had visited the Wye five years previously. On these former occasions the moods of the poets had also been the same: Coleridge enjoyed the beauty of the evening for its own sake, "deducing" from it no "philosophical opinions"; Wordsworth felt for the landscape "a Love That had no need of a remoter charm, By thought supplied" (ll. 80-82). Recollection also produces the same mood in both poets and fills them with the same thoughts; for Coleridge says:

And what if all of animated nature
Be but organic Harps diversely fram'd,
That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps
Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
At once the Soul of each, and God of all?—[ll. 44-48]

and this, says Harper, "anticipates by nearly three years the grand climax of the 'Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey' "²⁸—the passage, evidently, about the

sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused
 . . . that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things [ll. 95-102].

The poems, finally, have similar endings; for after the climax the mood changes, the poets turn to their female companions, and the poems end quietly on a conversational note.

We come, now, to the second way in which "The Eolian harp" may have had an influence upon Wordsworth. We have suggested that if Wordsworth discussed "The Eolian harp" with Coleridge, he would probably have shown particular interest in the method by which the poem was composed. Now, in "The Eolian harp," in its essential form, Coleridge gives a perfect exposition of Wordsworth's theory of the conditions of poetical inspiration, as can be seen if the several points in Wordsworth's theory are taken in order and illustrated briefly by quotations from "The Eolian harp."

"There is, first, the emotion of sense set up by the object or incident itself";²⁹ as when Coleridge first listens to the eolian harp on the

²⁸ Harper, p. 288.

²⁹ H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth* (Oxford, 1923), p. 159.

evening of August 20, 1795. Second, the emotion is "recollected in tranquillity";⁴⁰ as when Coleridge, some few months later, tells how "on the midway slope Of yonder hill I stretch my limbs at noon. . . . And tranquil muse upon tranquillity"⁴¹ (ll. 34-38). Third, "an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced"; as when recollection of the sound of the eolian harp produces in Coleridge the thought: "And what if all of animated nature Be but organic Harps diversely fram'd," etc. (ll. 44-48). Fourth, "the emotion . . . is qualified by various pleasures," such as those experienced for the first time by Coleridge—"Peace, and this Cot, and thee, heart-honour'd Maid" (l. 64)—and the mind is therefore "in a state of enjoyment," feeling, with Coleridge, "joyance every where" (l. 29). Finally, the poet communicates this pleasure to his readers by "the music of harmonious metrical language," or, in Coleridge's words, by "Rhythm in all thought" (l. 29).

Coleridge, writing to Southey on July 29, 1802, said of this preface: "I will apprise you of one thing, that . . . Wordsworth's Preface is half a child of my own brain, and arose out of conversations so frequent that, with few exceptions, we could scarcely either of us, perhaps, positively say which first started any particular thought."⁴² Although one does not wish to be over-ingenious in suggesting congruency in all minor points, it would seem probable from the above comparison that in its essential features the theory of poetical inspiration was started by Coleridge, and that Wordsworth, in enunciating that theory, did little more than give an account of a process which Coleridge had demonstrated to him five years previously by his own example—an example, moreover, which supplied Wordsworth with one of the key words for his theory: "Tranquillity."

If, then, as has been suggested, "The Eolian harp" influenced Wordsworth's form, philosophy, and theory of poetical inspiration, it fills almost as important a position in the poetical development of Wordsworth as of Coleridge. This possibility has been somewhat obscured by current misconceptions of the poem.

⁴⁰ Quotations are from *Wordsworth's literary criticism*, ed. Nowell C. Smith (London, 1925), pp. 34-35.

⁴¹ One of the key words of Wordsworth's theory is thus given the prominence of being mentioned twice in the same line.

⁴² *Letters*, I, 386.

IV

One hesitates at this late date to suggest a further source for "Kubla Khan"; but an interesting clue dropped by Brandl has never, as far as I know, been followed up.

Brandl noticed an affinity between "The Eolian harp" and "Kubla Khan"; for, after describing with some unwarranted additions of his own the situation in "Kubla Khan," he says: "This was a favorite idyllic situation with . . . [Coleridge] . . . , the same that meets us first in the 'Eolian Harp.' Even the 'circling honey drops' [*sic*], the paradisaal sweetness, with melody in addition, repeated themselves in this mood."⁴³ He then, as Lowes points out, "*proceeds to describe* ['Kubla Khan'] *in terms of 'The Eolian Harp'*"; which is "untenable," because " 'The Eolian Harp' is not an opium dream; 'Kubla Khan' is the only opium dream of Coleridge's which we possess; there is no beloved lying fondly at his side in either."⁴⁴ Lady Eastlake's translation of Brandl's book distorted the facts still further; and Robert Graves based his elaborate psychoanalytical interpretation of "Kubla Khan" upon Lady Eastlake's mistranslation of these erroneous statements.⁴⁵ No wonder, then, that amid this sequence of errors the most suggestive part of Brandl's statement should have been ignored: the appearance in both "The Eolian harp" and "Kubla Khan" of the " 'circling honey drops' [*sic*], the paradisaal sweetness, with melody in addition." If these details are observed in conjunction with the second draft of "The Eolian harp," which Brandl probably had never seen, his observation becomes even more suggestive.

"Effusion XXXV" is the same, except for a few slight differences in punctuation and the use of capitals, in the editions of 1796 and 1797. In the draft for the 1797 edition,⁴⁶ however, Coleridge introduced several changes from the edition of 1796, which he failed to include in the published version. For the present purpose it is necessary to examine

⁴³ Alois Brandl, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the English Romantic school* (London, 1887), p. 184.

⁴⁴ John Livingston Lowes, *The road to Xanadu* (Boston and New York, 1930), p. 595.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 593-96.

⁴⁶ For details of the publication of this draft, see note 28.

the changes made in only one passage. In the editions of 1796 and 1797 the passage reads:

... And now its strings
 Boldlier swept, the long sequacious notes
 Over delicious surges sink and rise,
 Such a soft floating witchery of sound
 As twilight Elfin make, when they at eve
 Voyage on gentle gales from Faery Land,
 Where *Melodies* round honey-dropping flowers
 Footless and wild, like birds of Paradise,
 Nor pause nor perch, hov'ring on untam'd wing [ll. 17-25].⁴⁷

In the draft for the edition of 1797 the passage reads:

... And now its strings
 Boldlier swept, the long sequacious notes
 Over delicious Surges sink and rise
 In aëry voyage, Music such as erst
 Round rosy bowers (so Legendaries tell)
 To sleeping Maids came floating witchingly
 By wand'ring West winds stoln from Faery land;
 Where on some magic Hybla MELODIES
 Round many a newborn honey-dropping Flower
 Footless and wild, like Birds of Paradise,
 Nor pause nor perch, warbling on untir'd wing [ll. 17-27].

In the edition of 1796, both in the passage quoted above and in other parts of the poem, there had already appeared a few verbal anticipations of "Kubla Khan":

"the distant *Sea*" (l. 11): "a sunless *sea*" (l. 5).

"the midway slope Of yonder *hill*" (ll. 26-27): "slanted Down the green *hill*" (ll. 12-13).

"Like some coy Maid half-yielding to her *Lover*" (l. 15): "By woman wailing for her demon-lover" (l. 16) (cf. cadence).

"honey-dropping flowers" (l. 23): "*honey-dew*" (l. 53).

"birds of *Paradise*" (l. 24): "milk of *Paradise*" (l. 54).

In the draft for the edition of 1797, these are augmented by other anticipations of "Kubla Khan": words, cadences, concepts:

"Round *many* a newborn honey-dropping Flower" (l. 25): "Where blossomed *many* an incense-bearing tree" (l. 9) (cf. cadence).

"*Bursts* sublime" (l. 41): "half-intermitted *burst*" (l. 20).

⁴⁷ The quotation is from the edition of 1796. In the edition of 1797, l. 19 has no comma.

"floating witchingly" (l. 22): "floating hair" (l. 50).

"sleeping Maids" (l. 22): "Abyssinian maid" (l. 39).

"In *aëry* voyage, *Music* such as erst Round rosy bowers" (ll. 20-21): "With *music* loud and long, I would build that dome in *air*" (ll. 45-46) ("bowers" and "dome" are similar concepts).

The magic quality of the Abyssinian maid's music is anticipated by the music which "came floating witchingly" (l. 22); a mountain is introduced ("on some magic Hybla,"⁴⁸ l. 24), anticipating "Mount Abora" (l. 41); and finally sleep ("sleeping Maids," l. 22) and legendary tales ("so Legendaries tell," l. 21) are introduced, anticipating the whole mood of "Kubla Khan."

Such links would seem almost too tenuous to mention were it not for the fact that the elements of Coleridge's poetry, as Lowes has demonstrated so abundantly, came not only from ideas and images, but also "flashed" from words.⁴⁹ These links are strengthened by two further considerations. "The Eolian harp," perhaps because of its associations, was very dear to Coleridge. We have already seen how he called it "the most perfect poem I ever wrote"; and in a letter to Thelwall, written on December 31, 1796, he referred to it as "the favourite of *my* poems."⁵⁰ It was a poem, moreover, which he was constantly revising, so that such a passage as the one which we have been considering appeared in still another form in the edition of 1803,⁵¹ and in *Sibylline leaves* (1817), reverted to the form which it originally had in the edition of 1796.

It is evident, therefore, that during the period of the incubation and composition of "Kubla Khan," "The Eolian harp" must have been lurking near the surface of Coleridge's subconscious mind. Consequently, when we see in "The Eolian harp" words such as "sea," "hill," "lover," "Bursts," "music," "floating," "aëry," "honey," and "Paradise," all of which were afterward important words in the

⁴⁸ The "on" shows that Coleridge is thinking of a mountain. Of the three towns in Sicily named Hybla, that famous for its honey is near Syracuse. Coleridge has probably confused this with the one on Mount Aetna, and then confused the mountain with the town on it.

⁴⁹ Lowes, p. 357.

⁵⁰ *Letters*, I, 211.

⁵¹

" . . . And now its strings
Boldlier swept, the long sequacious notes
Over delicious surges sink and rise,
Such a soft floating witchery of sound—" [ll. 14-17].

—S. T. Coleridge, *Poems* (London, 1803).

fabric of "Kubla Khan" and were used sometimes with the same cadence; and when, moreover, we see these words associated as in "Kubla Khan" with "maids," "bowers," a mountain, sleep, enchantment and legendary tales, there seems some likelihood that these words may well have been some of the "hooks and eyes" which drew together the images of "Kubla Khan"—images which themselves were drawn, as Lowes has demonstrated, from Coleridge's reading.⁵²

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⁵² According to Coleridge, "Kubla Khan" was written in "the summer of 1797" (*Works*, ed. Coleridge, I, 295). Now the second edition of his poems had not been printed by March 6, 1797 (see an unpublished letter to Cottle in the *Bookworm*, V, 53), so that about this period he was evidently busy revising the poems for publication. If one were to accept Coleridge's dating instead of 1798, the one agreed upon by scholars, it would mean that just prior to the composition of "Kubla Khan," Coleridge was associating "sea," "hill," "lover," "honey," and "Paradise" of the 1796 edition, with "Bursts," "music," "floating," "Maids," "aëry," a bower, a mountain, sleep, enchantment, and legendary tales of the 1797 draft, and then, after further consideration, deciding to dissociate them for the 1797 edition. Their reappearance a short while later in "Kubla Khan" would strengthen considerably the links between it and "The Eolian harp." Conversely, the appearance of this group of links with "Kubla Khan" a short while before the date on which Coleridge said it was written makes this date slightly more probable.

There are two reasons for doubting Coleridge's dating. First, there is his unreliability about dates. Second, as Ernest Hartley Coleridge points out, there is an unpublished MS note dated November 3, 1810, in which Coleridge connected "the retirement between 'Linton and Porlock' and a recourse to opium with his quarrel with Charles Lloyd and a consequent distress of mind" (*Works*, ed. Coleridge, I, 295); and as the quarrel was at its height in May, 1798, and as "Kubla Khan" was written "between 'Linton and Porlock'" under the influence of opium, the date of composition must therefore have been 1798 and not 1797.

There are two things to be said in support of Coleridge's dating. First, Stowey, where Coleridge lived during these years, was only a few miles from Linton and Porlock, so that he could have visited them as easily in 1797 as 1798. Second (as has been pointed out to me by Miss Joyce Kellogg, who is writing a life of Lloyd), there is nothing in the known facts of either Lloyd's or Coleridge's life in 1797 to disprove the existence of a serious quarrel between them in that year, unlikely as that may be; and if Coleridge's dating of "Kubla Khan" is correct, and if Coleridge and Lloyd did actually quarrel in the summer of 1797, so that Coleridge's opium habits therefore began in that year, the readiness of Coleridge to see insult to himself in Lloyd's novel, *Edmund Oliver* (1798), becomes more explicable than it seems at present. [As this article goes to press a new biography by Sir Edmund Chambers, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Oxford, 1938), has just appeared in which the author also advances the theory that Coleridge's own dating of "Kubla Khan" may be correct (see pp. 100-103). His reasons, however, are different from those advanced in this paper.]

To demonstrate the connection between "The Eolian harp" and "Kubla Khan," however, there is no need to press such a tenuous theory; for, as we have shown, Coleridge continued to revise "The Eolian harp" between the years 1797 and 1803 (and, indeed, still later, for subsequent editions)—that is, during the period of the composition of "Kubla Khan."

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THE LITERARY CRITICISM OF ANATOLE FRANCE
IN *L'UNIVERS ILLUSTRE* AND
OTHER JOURNALS

E. PRESTON DARGAN

A FEW years ago the present writer gave some account of the articles written by France, chiefly during the 'eighties, for *L'Univers illustré*.¹ It was pointed out there that this wealth of material had been neglected by all save a few students; that many of the two hundred articles, printed above the joint signature of "Gérôme," throw light upon France's formation and attitudes; and that in literary canons his position was that of a believer in the classical tradition. Only a small number of his *aperçus* on individual writers were cited. It is now proposed to fill in that gap and to correlate, where advisable, these judgments with similar ones throughout his work, particularly as they are found in the columns of *Le Temps* or of *La Revue illustrée*.

Since these fortnightly chronicles in *L'Univers illustré* appeared under the rubric of "Courrier de Paris," book reviews were not the staple here, as they were in the partially parallel columns of "La Vie littéraire."² Yet the names of certain modern authors recur with fair frequency; these we shall attempt to resurrect from the mass of unprinted chronicles. Be it noted, first, that journalistic pressure sometimes induces a relaxation of literary ideals. Anatole must praise, he must "puff" the books of his friends and collaborators. And he occasionally chooses the veil of pseudonymity to favor works by the author of *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*.

It is true that some of these tributes may be due to other hands that figured in the composite personality of "Gérôme." But the passages that I shall mention fall within contributions that are in the main by the hand of Anatole himself. This quaint self-praise, if such it be, is

¹ *Anatole France, 1844-1896* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 288-313.

² In *Le Temps*, 1887-1893; that portion of the "Courrier de Paris" which was signed "Gérôme," and which alone we are considering here, appeared 1883-90. It is not feasible to give complete references.

more amusing than edifying. It is managed indirectly, much as Voltaire managed it in his time. Once "Gérôme" quotes a preface from a guidebook, "on account of the patriotic wisdom with which it is inspired." Needless to say, this preface is "by M. Anatole France."³ Again, he casually mentions an actor who played some years ago the role of Hippias in *Les Noces Corinthiennes*.⁴ Also he has previously alluded to himself and to the same poetic drama, informing us about its late Greek setting. As for its author, "Gérôme" calls him "un frère des abeilles" for his sweetness, a renascent Chénier for his rendering of pagan beauty. We learn that George Sand, nearing her end, praised the exquisite style of "M. Anatole France." This gives "Gérôme" an opportunity to announce the impending publication of *Les Aventures de Pierre Nozières* [sic].⁵ The allusion is not to the subsequent *Pierre Nozière* (1899) but rather to *Le Livre de mon ami*, from which "Gérôme" presently quotes long extracts. No need to emphasize "cette ironie douce et cette tendresse spirituelle" which are the author's fundamental qualities. No need to tell the reader that such delicious pages are turned by the same master who wrote *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*—here styled "a marvel of grace and goodness, of subtlety and sentiment"⁶. . . *Vive la réclame!*

I have already recorded how France boosted in this journal such intimates as Etienne Charavay, Fernand Calmettes, François Coppée; such collaborators as "Richard O'Monroy" and "Gyp."⁷ Another comrade was Ludovic Halévy, who seems to have been about one-tenth of "Gérôme." Best known now as the author of *L'Abbé Constantin*, he was approved by France as "most Parisian" and as the master of an easy and luminous style. He belongs, indeed, to the family of "small classics—those whom I love." (This is a recurrent motif in other works.) And Anatole lauds to the skies a certain novel by Ludovic unfortunately forgotten today. When Halévy was elected

³ He also puffs this *Guide à Fontainebleau*, by Pfnor, in two other passages.

⁴ The actor was a certain Louveau; the representation, largely by amateurs, probably took place in January, 1884.

⁵ *L'Univ. ill.*, Nov. 1, 1884. The *Livre* actually came out in 1885.

⁶ Passages from *L'Univ. ill.*, Jan. 10 and March 7, 1885—numbers written by France himself.

⁷ Further aid was extended to "Gyp" in the *Vis littéraire*, *Œuvres complètes* (éd. définitive), VI, 546-58.

to the Academy, "Gérôme" wrote a two-column puff for his *confrère*. His talents as an observer and as a stylist are exceeded only by his charming personality. In return, Halévy was later active in promoting France's Academy campaign and in securing his election. Again, a good deal of space is wasted in commending Armand de Pontmartin, who published many *Causeries du samedi*, to vie with Sainte-Beuve. Pontmartin had preceded France in the chair of "Gérôme" and was therefore entitled to consideration. But when this fabricator of fifty volumes is exalted as one of the foremost and most original critic-historians of his time, we begin to wonder how far Anatole's complaisant pen will go.

Let us pass to his *obiter dicta* on standard authors. Regarding the ancients, it need not surprise us that his taste for them could find little scope in a family magazine. To be sure, "Gérôme" asserts: "A little paganism doesn't frighten me"; let the fauns and nymphs slip in among the blessed; but they slip into these columns only in the form of half-a-dozen distinct references to writers of antiquity. Anatole mentions how he and his schoolmates once gave a performance of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles; and he quotes Cloutz's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*,⁸ which may prove significant as a source for his ancient lore. Virgil, of course, receives the most frequent mention, and familiar *motifs* are repeated—for example, the idea of writing a *Dido*, which occurred to a little *pion* at Stanislas. Anatole-Gérôme reflects concerning such an enterprise: "The subject is voluptuous and breathes all the ardors of love." The *pion* (whom Anatole disliked) sought rather to draw from *his* tragedy lessons of virtue and to make Aeneas march sternly where the gods called him. Where, please, was that? drily inquires "Gérôme," skeptical of our ultimate ends. At any rate, he is clear that Virgil knew women's hearts, the capabilities of a "femme furieuse," and if he sends his dead heroes to the myrtle-groves, it is because these are haunted by the shades of old lovers.

Having his share of Parisian provincialism, "Gérôme" does not expand on modern foreign authors, with the exception of Shakespeare. Even his sympathy for Dickens is manifest in *L'Univers illustré* only through fleeting allusions. But there is an apostrophe to Hamlet,

⁸ *L'Univ. ill.*, Feb. 19, 1887; Feb. 23, 1889 (cf. Jan. 11, 1890).

recalling the similar one in "La Vie littéraire" printed a fortnight earlier.⁹ "O mon prince, combien vous êtes peu compris!" Your breast is shaken by the most diverse feelings, all of which I share, hardly knowing whether I love or hate you—"and your ferocious gaiety tortures my heart." Elsewhere "Gérôme" maintains that Shakespeare excels in the physical rendering of emotion—for example, the hands of Lady Macbeth.

More numerous are the passages about French writers, though here too the journalist's concern with actuality induces him to bear lightly on previous ages. Nonetheless, it seems strange to find the historically-minded Anatole alluding only once to the Renaissance, once or twice to eighteenth-century authors, and only a few times to his favorites of the Age of Louis XIV. Still, if there is little new on the French classics, there is plenty of insistence on the continuance—or noncontinuance—of classical qualities among latter-day writers.

In point of time, Rabelais' name leads all the rest. Characteristically, instead of really analyzing Rabelais, Anatole France tells anecdotes about him. Why try to make him out a serious person?—inquires our chronicler. Jolly people will find it difficult to believe that Rabelais was never drunk. A contrary point of view was developed by France when in 1909 he delivered his lectures on Rabelais in the Argentine. At that time he evinced small respect for the "legend" about Rabelais as a fast liver: his emphasis on eating and drinking are then considered, more conventionally, as symbolical of his encyclopedic taste for knowledge and experience.¹⁰

More true to form are the references to Racine. It again appears that Anatole was hard to please about this master, whom he cherished as his very own poet.¹¹ In *L'Univers illustré*, the tragedy of *Phèdre* (which our author practically knew by heart) raises the issue of what is today the proper setting for Racine's resuscitations of antiquity. Not, at any rate, a *mise-en-scène* according to the recent discoveries of archeology, which Racine did not know. We infer that the

⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1886; *Le Temps*, Oct. 3, 1886 (reprinted in *Œuvres complètes*, VI, 13-19). France saw first the adaptation by Gerfaut and later Mounet-Sully in the role of Hamlet.

¹⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, XVII, 83, 145, etc.

¹¹ *L'Univ. ill.*, Feb. 16, 1884; cf. G. Des Hons, *Anatole France et Racine* and my volume, pp. 191-94.

modern spectator should stay altogether within Racine's consciousness, which sounds quite reasonable. Molière is less of a *libertin* than a conservative; his chief lesson is that everybody should remain in that station in life to which he was born.

Among the forerunners of Romanticism, Rousseau with all his genius was "le dernier des drôles." He wrote like an angel and behaved like a rascal. What about Chateaubriand? Has Anatole yet forgiven the Vicomte and his own father for perpetually insisting on the greatness of the Vicomte? We find, as so frequently, a pro-and-con debate, mostly relative to the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*. On the one hand, that autobiography is a very impressive book. It places Chateaubriand in the company of those writers—Rousseau, Dickens, and Renan—who affect us by narrating the enchantments of their own youth. This famous passage has been sufficiently exploited.¹² But in another passage "Gérôme" throws cold water on this specious praise. A critic has recently shown how the *Mémoires* incline to "pompous arrangements" and exaggerations. The Vicomte was too full of himself and dwelt too much on his intrigues, whether political or amorous. He was ever an ingrate in his amours. It had been remarked earlier that Chateaubriand and Napoleon achieved the "two greatest destinies of the century."¹³ Doubtless this was a good part of what the Vicomte wanted posterity (including Anatole France) to remember.

Definitely turning from his adolescent imitations of Hugo, France cannot now accept the principles of the Romantic leader. According to our natures, Anatole philosophizes, we erect working theories of life and art. If Hugo were a well-balanced person, if he had been capable of feeling regular (i.e., classical) beauty, he would not have invented that individualistic theory of the grotesque. This *critique* was written, in all frankness, two years before Hugo's death. But soon after that event and after the apotheosis which Paris gave the poet, it would not have been good journalism to write in dispraise of a national asset. France solves the difficulty in his own fashion. His necrological article consists mainly of anecdotes.¹⁴ Skirting around

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 294; *L'Unité*, ill., May 12, 1883. (The MS of this article offers some interesting variations.)

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1883 (cf. June 23, same year).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1885. Reprinted (transl.) in J. L. May's ed. of *Prefaces, introductions and other uncollected papers* (1928).

questions of poetic values, "Gérôme" mentions how everybody followed the funeral, how Hugo has become a national glory as well as the voice of the century. He had keen eyes and saw things always in images. . . . It's a strange thing that he didn't like taverns ("Victor Hugo à l'auberge"), because I do, says France, and also chickens; I shall speak of myself and chickens apropos of Hugo. It's interesting to recall ("Victor Hugo et l'immortalité de l'âme") that he went in for table-turning and spiritism (since I do that too). And with a few more subheadings, featuring other trivialities regarding Hugo, the chronicler reaches a noncommittal end. He had prepared for this by announcing that it was not his task to estimate Hugo's work, but rather to view his little fingernail. That feat having been accomplished, France rested from Hugo for six months. Then finally he could allow himself to become sardonic about the memorials that the poet left behind, as well as about his huge brow and his false antitheses. Anatole still professes respect for this great figure, but the respect is not obvious. Rather his attitude is symptomatic of the critical reaction that set in after Hugo's death—foreshadowing a similar swing of the pendulum in the case of Anatole France.

A few examples will show "Gérôme's" opinions of other Romantics. The elder Dumas, rather than Hugo, created the Romantic drama. (This is in part correct, since France is thinking of the *première* of *Henri III et sa cour*, in 1829.) The character of Antony, brutal and antisocial, in the melodrama of that name, is more living than the character of Didier in Hugo's *Marion Delorme*. Antony is at any rate a real man and a true child of the century, just as his creator was a true child of France, robust, joyous, and eternally adolescent. Anatole appreciated elsewhere the verve of Dumas as a storyteller.¹⁵

Although the critic usually stands firmly for sentiment in poetry, the emotions of Alfred de Musset awaken here no responsive chord. Our chronicler likes neither the poet's irony nor the tone of his letters. His affair with George Sand is not dwelt upon, but apparently "Gérôme" is more for Sand than for Musset. She was one of the greatest writers of her age. She understood both the domain of nature and

¹⁵ *Œuvres complètes*, VI, 37, 604; *L'Unité*, ill., Feb 1, 1896.

human passions, which are surely the root of the matter.¹⁶ Drawing her early sentiment from Rousseau, she later added keener reflections of her own. From rose color she turned to a modified realism. Like many others, France is enthusiastic about the Flaubert-Sand correspondence, especially her letters. They mirror her serene and wise old age, her large charity, her capacity for disinterested friendship. Her eloquent descriptions accord with her lofty conception of the writer's art.

But Flaubert has his points too. If he was not so keen on the uplift and if his dislike of the bourgeois became a mania, yet he had a good heart, which Sand reproaches him with concealing under too much impassivity. His literary theories were "inconceivable" to an Anatole who always distrusted aesthetic air castles. Yet he loved the sublime and more than once he attained it in his work. France then gives some personal reminiscences as well as a pen-portrait of Flaubert.¹⁷ He was paternal toward the younger men "who entered the little parlor on the Rue Murillo and were received by this giant clad in a flannel petticoat and a fisherman's oilskin."

In *La Revue illustrée*,¹⁸ we find in another connection this tribute to Balzac: "L'incomparable historien de la société française à l'époque de la Restauration, Honoré de Balzac, place le règne du dandy entre 1815 et 1825." Here the creative power of Balzac is appraised as second only to that of Shakespeare. His characters show an extraordinary consistency in their reappearances.¹⁹ This is in connection with Cerfberr and Christophe's *Répertoire* or biographical dictionary of the *Comédie humaine*, also reviewed elsewhere. As a Parisian interested in monuments, "Gérôme" had previously regretted that the statue of Balzac, planned thirty years ago, had not yet been erected.

In addition to material that I have dealt with elsewhere²⁰ on Zola, it may be well to pause on certain animadversions in these columns.

¹⁶ These are echoes of previous judgments; cf. *Le Temps*, April 18, 1876 (my volume, p. 270). Exaltation of the passions is a recurrent theme. Feullet is also praised for his treatment of them (*L'Univ. ill.*, Feb. 20, 1886).

¹⁷ *L'Univ. ill.*, March 17, 1883 (after the death of the novelist). There are touches recalling an earlier interview at Crolsset in 1873; cf. *Le Temps*, Feb. 12, 1888.

¹⁸ IX (1890), 218.

¹⁹ *L'Univ. ill.*, June 4, 1887; cf. *Œuvres complètes*, VI, 135-43.

²⁰ *Anatole France*, pp. 293, 354-56; cf. p. 667, n. 62.

The field is worth exploring, partly because several "Franciens" (including MM. Maurice Kahn, Carias, and Braibant) argue that the grand reconciliation between the two novelists in Dreyfusian days either was prepared for in the early 'nineties or that it practically obliterated their previous differences. If so, both had a good deal to forgive and forget. In various journal articles through 1890 France wrote more numerous and more definite indictments of Zola than the above "Franciens" have altogether reckoned with. It will be observed that in several cases the less-known articles (on a particular novel) were written within a week or so of the better-known. Now M. Kahn (*Anatole France et Emile Zola*) cites nothing from *L'Univers illustré*. M. Braibant (*Le Secret d'Anatole France*, pp. 285-302) either neglects certain articles or fails to bring out Anatole's ironic undertones or his definite reserves, perceptible in others.²¹ M. Braibant's general thesis is that France's sympathy with the masses began to crystallize quite early in the 'nineties and that his opinion of Zola shifted accordingly. I have advanced elsewhere some objections to the major premise. It remains to be seen whether our critic's attitude toward Zola, as a writer, was radically transformed.

Certainly, "Gérôme's" tone is hostile, even minatory, when he challenges the methods of the Naturalist—a term whose applicability he questions—together with most of his works. For instance, *La Curée*, Zola's first big success, pushed the Rougon-Macquart series into popular favor; for all that, it is a brutal novel and reveals its naïve author as almost an "innocent." *L'Assommoir* is an important book in its way—but what a way! The only interest of *Pot-Bouille* is that it partially derives from Balzac. The composer of *La Bête humaine* is a mere copy-seeker, when he is not a "romantique déchu," without observation or knowledge of the world.²² As for *La Terre*, Zola uses strong seasoning to disguise infected meat. These peasants are simply "delirious satyrs." Our chronicler, who has lived in the country, never saw or heard of any beings like them.²³ Why does Zola

²¹ *La Revue illustrée*, March 15, 1890 (see below); or else *Le Temps*, June 27, 1877, and March 9, 1890. Some contributions to *L'Univ. ill.* are similarly adapted to fit the argument.

²² *L'Univ. ill.*, Oct. 19, 1889.

²³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1887. This last article was immediately anticipated by the well-known diatribes in the "Vie littéraire" (*Le Temps*, Aug. 28 and Sept. 4, 1887; *Œuvres complètes*, VI, 204-14). But Anatole's experiences of country life were not extensive.

behave like a nasty schoolboy? Because he cannot help himself. If he could write like Renan, he would never have invented Naturalism, which is a pernicious doctrine. It claims to offer realities and gives us *tacenda* instead. It seeks to present "documents"—but *I* want art. (He always did; and he was usually offended by coarseness as a sin against *la Volupté*.) Furthermore, the pseudo-science of the Naturalistic group is appalling. Fortunately, their vogue is passing. Zola's stock is sinking, because we are surfeited with unrealistic bestiality. France's language is fully as strong as it was in *Le Temps*. Also, whatever may be the case later, when France refused to run against Zola, as a "man of talent," "Gérôme" manifests here no sympathy with the latter's projected candidacy for the Academy.²⁴ It is difficult to find already a "change of tone" on this topic (Braibant, p. 289) in the frank irony of the "Courrier" for November 30, 1889.

An article on the same general subject appeared in another magazine somewhat later.²⁵ Once more France pays his compliments to Zola. But now he dons certain ceremonial gloves which he had not worn as "Gérôme." The novel reviewed here is *La Bête humaine*—which he dealt with contemporaneously in an amusing dialogue concocted for *Le Temps*. But in *La Revue illustrée* he simply qualifies this work about railroads and engineers as a study of the murderous instinct. What a marvelous parade of criminals, for the benefit of the homicide squad! Anatole himself is not opposed to murder, as a fine art. We can imagine circumstances under which he would gladly murder Zola. Nature taught crime when the caveman warred with the other animals; and civilization has merely changed its antique form. So violent people today still return to the "ancient fetish," and *La Bête* ranks as a study and a glorification of violence. Forceful characters, a sweep of action, a strong imagination, and a "prodigious obstinacy" are granted to the novelist. Was it the last quality that made him heap death upon death in *La Bête*? If people actually perished in the proportion found in this story, then 80 per cent of French society would be extinct. The suggestion is that from the pen of a realist this seems indeed an excessive death-rate.

²⁴ The refusal (of October, 1892) may be found in Pouquet, *Salon de Mme. de Caillavet* (1926), p. 140; *L'Unité*, *ill.*, *passim*, especially Aug. 11, 1888, and Nov. 30, 1889.

²⁵ *Revue illustrée*, March 15, 1890 (cf. *Le Temps*, March 9, 1890—reprinted in *Œuvres complètes*, VII, 305-16).

The virulence manifested in most of these attacks makes it difficult to believe that France ever conceived a whole-hearted admiration for Zola. Their *entente* from 1898 was of a socio-political rather than of an aesthetic kind. M. Braibant himself urges this point; but in advancing the *entente* to 1890-91, he does not make it sufficiently clear that the treaty of peace was limited to certain areas. Even Anatole's famous *Discours aux funérailles d'Emile Zola* (1902), despite its panegyrical tone and its tributes to Zola's social idealism, is no thorough recantation.²⁶ It simply stresses the personal virtues and the "colossal" creative power which, for a decade, the orator had been disposed to concede. But artistically the two men remained poles apart.²⁷

On the other hand, it emerges that authentic, well-balanced realism did not offend France in his avatar of "Gérôme." The chronicler praises Augier's drama for its honesty and sociological value.²⁸ Also he considers Dumas *fils* a writer of the first order. His plays are too full of "theses," too many of which are disputable; yet he is a great *moraliste*, endowed both with sense and sensibility.²⁹ Again, Henry Becque's *La Parisienne*, often placed at the peak of Naturalistic drama, is styled by "Gérôme" a "vigorous masterpiece."

In this connection we may once more glean from *La Revue illustrée*.³⁰ In a brief article devoted there to Becque's *Théâtre complet*, Anatole asserts that the playwright (like Zola) is a sort of naïve innocent; that he is, accordingly, a temperamental rather than a philosophical pessimist; that he should be granted an "attrait sauvage." The lack of a (classical) harmonizing quality in his talent may be compensated for by great originality, sure observation, and a capacity for irony (which does not seem particularly "innocent"). His best device was to show "l'ingénuité dans le cynisme"—people installed in

²⁶ *Vers les temps meilleurs*, II, 7-13. Some confirmation of this attitude may be found in Anatole's *démarches* around Mme Zola; see *Le Lys rouge* (periodical), Jan. 1, 1937, pp. 123-24.

²⁷ Cf. A. Antoniu, *Anatole France, critique littéraire* (1929), pp. 189-90 and note; although A. F. gradually admitted, even in *Le Temps*, the massive sweep found in several outstanding novels, yet he later maintained, "jamais je n'ai éprouvé de vraie sympathie pour l'écrivain, même après notre rapprochement amené par les circonstances. ..." This seems to discount the effect of the letter quoted by Kahn, pp. 10-11.

²⁸ This is in line with his usual opinion of Augier from the time of *Le Chasseur bibliographe* (1867).

²⁹ *L'Univ. ill.*, July 7 and Aug. 4, 1883; cf. *ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1895 (necrological article, signed "Anatole France").

³⁰ Feb. 1, 1890, pp. 135-37.

their vices with an air of respectability. (The beginning of *La Parisienne* or the end of *Les Corbeaux* would bear this out.) Yet Becque's world was a dreary and limited one; for literature as for life, it is better to love than to hate Here speaks the Epicurean and the still undisillusioned Anatole.

Now returning to Gérôme's "Courrier de Paris," we find little concerning the historians, except an echo of what Sylvestre Bonnard had said about Michelet.³¹ His memoirs show that he was a man of feeling; but a good deal of it was bad feeling.

As for poetry, Leconte de Lisle, because of the growing estrangement between the two writers, is rather coolly treated. Were his emulators in the poetic domain much better? Not at any rate Baudelaire, who was too fond of the *macabre*.³² Anatole now dislikes the gruesome, together with the "decadent." The movement called by that name awakens his irony. He speaks of "*Le Décadent*, revue jaune ... terriblement fumiste." The main function of this type of literature is to muddle one's brain. As for the manifesto of Decadence, issued by Jean Moréas and becoming a storm center of attack in France's contributions to *Le Temps*, very similar protests appeared first in *L'Univers illustré*.³³ "Gérôme" appeals to his brother-chroniclers not to help advertise these eccentrics. The obscure mutterings of the Symbolists are outranked by the luminous clarity of Béranger. One feature of this "deliquescent literature" is to delete all comparisons in their figures of speech. But it is not by changing a simile to a metaphor that a goose is turned into a swan.

France also offers several amusing parodies on the Symbolists, as well as more general epitaphs for living celebrities of other schools. In the one reserved for his old Parnassian master, he calls on a menagerie of gods and creatures to lament:

Zeus, Nomes, Bhagavat, panthère, crocodile,
Tigres et Dieux, pleurez sur Leconte de Lisle.

Although Anatole disliked the majority of Symbolists, he is rather benevolent toward Verlaine, who was to become a part-time model for

³¹ *L'Univ. ill.*, Feb. 16, 1884. The passage begins: "Il gémit, il se pâme, il se meurt et le voilà qui vous étrangle. ..."

³² This does not quite chime with other judgments. See *Le Chasseur bibliographe*, February, 1867, p. 50; and *Œuvres complètes*, VII, 36-39.

³³ Oct. 2 and 30, 1886.

"Choulette" in *Le Lys rouge*. Here he is treated as one of the curiosities of Paris.³⁴ His poetry is not very intelligible, but "some exquisite beings³⁵ adore verses on condition that they signify nothing." Perhaps these "beings" are not altogether wrong in maintaining that the appeal to the ear has little to do with the understanding. "Gérôme" visited Verlaine in one of his hospitals and hearkened benignly to his religious rhapsodies.

The writer most frequently honored in the "Courrier" is Ernest Renan. France's passion for this author has already been developed.³⁶ "Gérôme" writes unfavorably about Barrès' attack on the master in his *Huit jours chez M. Renan*.³⁷ It is true that the book is disarming because of its brilliance.

France had some reason to fear the brilliance of Barrès. As early as 1882 the latter had written a keen analysis of the former's mind and work to date. "Gérôme" here reciprocates with some animus.³⁸ Nothing better displays the charming innocence of universal suffrage than the election of Barrès as a deputy. This Boulangiste is a complex and perfect dilettante. They say he has corrupted Bourget; that is quite possible; Barrès would corrupt the devil himself. A sketch of this devil-deputy represents him as "tall, pale, looking like a young St. Louis, very much embellished, idealized and thinned out." With his astonishing mind, he is capable of acquiring anything, even convictions. That is an interesting prophecy, in view of Barrès' later development as patriot and propagandist.³⁹

Evidently, there were men whom Anatole liked better. Among them were the revered Pailleron—a former neighbor when he lived in a wing of the Hôtel Chimay. In his fantastically furnished apartment there, France claims to have met most of the literary celebrities of the time.⁴⁰ He approves Pailleron as "un classique français" and insists that he "gives wings to good sense." One welcomes the praise accorded to the author of *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie* by a person who knew that world; but surely the general importance of Pailleron is

³⁴ March 24, 1888.

³⁵ Meaning lady-friends of poet or chronicler? Cf. my volume, pp. 519-20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-95; cf. Appen. E.

³⁷ May 5, 1888.

³⁸ Oct. 18, 1889.

³⁹ It has been suggested that Barrès has some analogies with the personage called Joseph Lacrisse in *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris*.

⁴⁰ Jan. 19, 1884; cf. July 26, same year, and Jan. 9, 1886.

exaggerated. Paul Hervieu, too, is rated as "one of my classics," that is, he is in the French tradition. This from the pen of Anatole spells high commendation. Had not Hervieu deserved it through his admiration for M. France, whom he met in society? Another *protégé* of Mme de Caillavet's, to wit Pierre Loti, was beginning to attract general attention. His *Roman d'un enfant* seemed to "Gérôme" as old and as sad as the universe itself. Even as a child Loti's soul was full of desolation.⁴¹ (Anatole probably compares favorably the childhood of "Pierre Nozière.") He leaps from this to the rash generalization that Loti may well rank as "the most disturbing and the most prodigious artist of our time." Is this sincere, or is Anatole again writing a puff to oblige an acquaintance?

To conclude, "Gérôme" once composed an imaginary interview with celebrities who were supposed to name their "ten favorite books."⁴² He injected wit and malice, absurdity and insight into these alleged choices. For instance, Zola mentioned nothing but butchers' manuals; Jules Lemaitre (still close to France) began with Ecclesiastes and ended with a "Notice" about Annamite dancers at the Exposition. Bourget received the interviewer in a dim religious light, haunted by Botticellis; he alluded to that artist but harped on Stendhal and Schopenhauer as his favorite reading. Leconte de Lisle was smoking a calumet at the feet of a sneering Hindu god; he selected certain "écrits barbares"—unpronounceable titles by authors whose names were composed entirely of consonants. General Boulanger read nothing but Symbolists and Decadents—we infer that Anatole's opinion of Boulanger has sunk, never to rise again.

Thus the taste of the traditionalist (in arts and letters⁴³ only) is tempered by the mirth of the chronicler.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A</i>	= <i>Anglia</i>	<i>ELH</i>	= <i>Journal of English literary history</i>
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<i>CWd</i>	= <i>Catholic world</i>	<i>HZ</i>	= <i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
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"Choulette" in *Le Lys rouge*. Here he is treated as one of the curiosities of Paris.³⁴ His poetry is not very intelligible, but "some exquisite beings³⁵ adore verses on condition that they signify nothing." Perhaps these "beings" are not altogether wrong in maintaining that the appeal to the ear has little to do with the understanding. "Gérôme" visited Verlaine in one of his hospitals and hearkened benignly to his religious rhapsodies.

The writer most frequently honored in the "Courrier" is Ernest Renan. France's passion for this author has already been developed.³⁶ "Gérôme" writes unfavorably about Barrès' attack on the master in his *Huit jours chez M. Renan*.³⁷ It is true that the book is disarming because of its brilliance.

France had some reason to fear the brilliance of Barrès. As early as 1882 the latter had written a keen analysis of the former's mind and work to date. "Gérôme" here reciprocates with some animus.³⁸ Nothing better displays the charming innocence of universal suffrage than the election of Barrès as a deputy. This Boulangiste is a complex and perfect dilettante. They say he has corrupted Bourget; that is quite possible; Barrès would corrupt the devil himself. A sketch of this devil-deputy represents him as "tall, pale, looking like a young St. Louis, very much embellished, idealized and thinned out." With his astonishing mind, he is capable of acquiring anything, even convictions. That is an interesting prophecy, in view of Barrès' later development as patriot and propagandist.³⁹

Evidently, there were men whom Anatole liked better. Among them were the revered Pailleron—a former neighbor when he lived in a wing of the Hôtel Chimay. In his fantastically furnished apartment there, France claims to have met most of the literary celebrities of the time.⁴⁰ He approves Pailleron as "un classique français" and insists that he "gives wings to good sense." One welcomes the praise accorded to the author of *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie* by a person who knew that world; but surely the general importance of Pailleron is

³⁴ March 24, 1888.

³⁵ Meaning lady-friends of poet or chronicler? Cf. my volume, pp. 519-20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-95; cf. Appen. E. ³⁷ May 5, 1888. ³⁸ Oct. 18, 1889.

³⁹ It has been suggested that Barrès has some analogies with the personage called Joseph Lacrisse in *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris*.

⁴⁰ Jan. 19, 1884; cf. July 26, same year, and Jan. 9, 1886.

exaggerated. Paul Hervieu, too, is rated as "one of my classics," that is, he is in the French tradition. This from the pen of Anatole spells high commendation. Had not Hervieu deserved it through his admiration for M. France, whom he met in society? Another *protégé* of Mme de Caillavet's, to wit Pierre Loti, was beginning to attract general attention. His *Roman d'un enfant* seemed to "Gérôme" as old and as sad as the universe itself. Even as a child Loti's soul was full of desolation.⁴¹ (Anatole probably compares favorably the childhood of "Pierre Nozière.") He leaps from this to the rash generalization that Loti may well rank as "the most disturbing and the most prodigious artist of our time." Is this sincere, or is Anatole again writing a puff to oblige an acquaintance?

To conclude, "Gérôme" once composed an imaginary interview with celebrities who were supposed to name their "ten favorite books."⁴² He injected wit and malice, absurdity and insight into these alleged choices. For instance, Zola mentioned nothing but butchers' manuals; Jules Lemaitre (still close to France) began with Ecclesiastes and ended with a "Notice" about Annamite dancers at the Exposition. Bourget received the interviewer in a dim religious light, haunted by Botticelli; he alluded to that artist but harped on Stendhal and Schopenhauer as his favorite reading. Leconte de Lisle was smoking a calumet at the feet of a sneering Hindu god; he selected certain "écrits barbares"—unpronounceable titles by authors whose names were composed entirely of consonants. General Boulanger read nothing but Symbolists and Decadents—we infer that Anatole's opinion of Boulanger has sunk, never to rise again.

Thus the taste of the traditionalist (in arts and letters⁴³ only) is tempered by the mirth of the chronicler.

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JP.	= Journal of philosophy	PQ	= Philological quarterly
JPE	= Journal of political economy	QQ	= Queen's quarterly
LgrP	= Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie	QR	= Quarterly review
LL	= Life and letters today	RA	= Revue anglo-américaine
LM	= London mercury and bookman	RdDM	= Revue des deux mondes
LQHR	= London quarterly and Holborn review	RES	= Review of English studies
LZD	= Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland	RF	= Revue de France
MF	= Mercure de France	RH	= Revue historique
MLN	= Modern language notes	RM	= Revue de métaphysique et de morale
MLR	= Modern language review	RLC	= Revue de littérature comparée
MP	= Modern philology	RPh	= Revue de philosophie
N	= Nation	S	= Spectator
NC	= Nineteenth century and after	SAQ	= South Atlantic quarterly
Neo	= Neophilologus	Scan	= Scandinavian studies
NEQ	= New England quarterly	SeR	= Sevanee review
NeuP	= Neuphilologische Monatschrift	SM	= Scientific monthly
New R	= New republic	SP	= Studies in philology
Nrf	= Nouvelle revue française	SR	= Saturday review
NS	= New statesman and nation	SRL	= Saturday review of literature
NYTBR	= New York Times book review	St	= Studies
N & Q	= Notes & queries	TLS	= (London) Times literary supplement
		VQR	= Virginia quarterly review
		YR	= Yale review

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This is the sequel to Mr. Maccoby's *English radicalism: 1832-1852*, and shows the same merits and defects: a brilliant use of primary sources hitherto neglected, and a failure to make his multitudinous details synthesize in illuminating conclusions. There is the same revealing emphasis on the role played by Radical societies for agitation, contemporary documents, and obscure Radical periodicals. The author is undoubtedly guilty of undue stress on the power of the Radical forces in Parliament, and he fails to take account of the unpopularity of Joseph Chamberlain not only with many Liberals but also with a great number of Radicals. On the whole, however, this volume, like its predecessor, is an invaluable source, or collection of sources, on the great Radical movement of the Victorian era.—C. F. H.

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Maurice, Sir Frederick. *Haldane: 1856-1915*. See VB 1937, 425.

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Rev. by A. O. in *La critica*, XXXVI, 293-94.

Murray, J. Middleton. *Heaven and earth*. London: Cape. Pp. 384.

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- Walbrook, H. M. "Henry Irving." *FR*, CXLIX, 203-11.
- Wicks, Margaret. *The Italian exiles in London, 1816-1848.* See VB 1937, 427.
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- Wilson, A. "Walks and talks." *NC*, CXXIV, 496-512.
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Woolley, S. F. "The personnel of the Parliament of 1833." *EHR*, LIII, 240 ff.

III. MOVEMENTS OF IDEAS AND LITERARY FORMS; ANTHOLOGIES

Addison, Agnes. *Romanticism and the Gothic revival*. New York: R. R. Smith. Pp. viii+187.

Baker, E. A. *The history of the English novel*. Vol. VII. See VB 1936, 401. Vol. VIII. See VB 1937, 428.

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Baker, E. A. *The history of the English novel*. Vol. IX: *The day before yesterday*. London: Witherby. Pp. 364.

Balder, Arno L. "Those mesmeric Victorians." *Colophon*, N.S. III, 335-53.

Traces the vogue of mesmerism in Victorian fashionable and literary circles.

Baron, Salo W. "The Jewish question in the nineteenth century." *JMH*, X, 51-65.

Batho, Edith. *The poet and the past*. (Warton lecture to the British Academy.) London: Milford, 1937. Pp. 24.

Brief rev. by O. Elton in *MLR*, XXXIII, 461.

Booth, Allen B. (ed.). *A cabinet of gems. Short stories from the English annuals*. With introd. and notes. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. pr. Pp. ix+406.

Pp. 1-19 present an account of the rise to popularity of the annual gift books. Among the authors who have a story reprinted in this collection are Bulwer-Lytton, Wilkie Collins, W. S. Gilbert, Capt. Marryat, A. Trollope. An interesting and valuable book.—W. D. T.

Borgerhoff, E. B. O. "Réalisme and kindred words: their use as terms of literary criticism in the first half of the nineteenth century." *PMLA*, LIII, 837-43.

Bowyer, John Wilson, and Brooks, John Lee (eds.). *The Victorian age: prose, poetry, and drama*. With introductions, bibliographies, and notes. New York: Crofts. Pp. xx+1188.

"In order to provide a complete view of the literature, we have represented all the major writers and the more significant minor figures. The various types of non-fictional prose, of poetry, and of drama are included; and a critical bibliography serves as a guide to the fiction."—Preface, p.v. Rev. in *EJ*, XXVII, 541.

Braaksma, M. H. *Travel and literature. An attempt at a literary appreciation of English travel-books about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the present day*. Groningen-Batavia: J. Wolters. Pp. iii+128.

Bush, D. *Mythology and the romantic tradition*. See VB 1937, 429.

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Cazamian, Madeleine. "Les Victoriens." *Les nouvelles littéraires*, June 25.

Chapman, J. A. "Poetry of yesterday and today." *Poetry rev.*, XXIX, 429-33.

Clapham, J. H. "Were the Victorians optimists?" *Listener*, Jan. 12.

Combe, Thomas G. S. *Sainte-Beuve et les poètes anglais*. Bordeaux: Delmas, 1937. Pp. 224.

Rev. by J. Pommier in *RLC*, XVIII, 751-53 (treats the influence of English poets upon him).

Cruse, Amy. *After the Victorians*. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 264.

Rev. by T. James in *LL*, XIX, 106-8; by R. Lewin in *LM*, XXXVIII, 477-78; by R. Mortimer in *NS*, Aug. 13, p. 253. What Englishmen were reading, 1887-1914.

Daiches, D. *Literature and society*. London: Gollancz. Pp. 287.

"... trying to trace the relation between literature and society in England from the early Middle Ages to the present day. . . . This is not in any sense a history of English literature"

Decker, Clarence R. "The aesthetic revolt against naturalism in Victorian criticism." *PMLA*, LIII, 844-56.

Dobrée, Bonamy, and Batho, Edith. *The Victorians and after. 1830-1914*. With a chapter on economics by Guy Chapman. (*Introductions to English literature*, Vol. IV.) London: Cresset pr.; New York: R. M. McBride. Pp. 384.

Rev. by J.-B. Fort in *EtA*, II, 391-92; by H. House in *NS*, Aug. 13, p. 256; by S. Potter in *LM*, XXXVIII, 276-77. The introd., about one-third of the book,

"deals with the literature of the period in all its forms, connecting it with the other arts and corresponding philosophic and religious movements. The social and political background is indicated as fully as possible . . . the economic background is dealt with in a separate chapter. The remaining two-thirds of the book . . . is made up of lists of books, written in the period, which are recommended for reading, accompanied by short critical notes on the most important . . ."

Faber, Geoffrey. *Oxford apostles*. London: Faber, 1936. Pp. xxiii+467.

Rev. by E. Pr  clin in *RH*, CLXXXII, 148.

Frehn, Paul. *Der Einfluss der englischen Literatur auf Deutschlands Musiker und Musik im 19. Jahrhundert*. K  ln diss. D  sseldorf: Nolte, 1937. Pp. 196.

Funke, O. *Die Schweiz und die englische Literatur*. Bern: Francke, 1937. Pp. 57.

Gawsworter, J. (ed.). *Fifty years of modern verse: an anthology*. London: Secker. Pp. 283.

Gray, Nicolette. *XIXth century ornamented types and titlepages*. London: Faber; Toronto: Ryerson pr. Pp. 213.

Rev. by D. Sturge Moore in *LL*, XIX, 125-26.

Greeves, Frederic. "Omar Khayy  m, modern pessimism, and Christian thought." *Cornhill mag.*, CLVIII, 63-72.

Grubb, H. T. H. "The ancient Celtic muse and its effect upon English poetry." *Poetry rev.*, XXIX, 219-31.

Gurian, Waldemar. *The rise and decline of Marxism*. Tr. by E. F. Peeler. London: Burns Oates. Pp. xi+184.

Harrold, Charles Frederick, and Templeman, William D. (eds.). *English prose of the Victorian era*. New York: Oxford univ. pr. Pp. lxxx+1743.

An admirable anthology. In range of content, judgment in selection of representative materials, bibliographical apparatus, and biographical, critical, and explanatory notes, it challenges comparison with any other text in its field. Its footnote annotations are remarkably complete. Arnold, Carlyle, Froude, Huxley, Macaulay, Mill, Morris, Newman, Pater, Ruskin, Alexander Smith, Stevenson, and Thackeray are the authors represented. Particular mention should be made of the introduction, which gives a full, clear, and stimulating account of the "major aspects of the Victorian period." As an added attraction, the volume includes a selected bibliography of the Victorian era, and—a new and commendable departure in such texts—an appendix "illustrative of nineteenth-century conceptions of growth, development, evolution." This last is made up of passages from Lyell, Robert Chambers, Newman, Marx and Engels, Darwin, Spencer, and Bagehot. With an attractive and durable binding, good paper, large pages, wide margins, and very readable type, the Oxford Press has done justice to this excellent work.—F. E. F.

Hayward, John (comp. and ed.). *Silver tongues; famous speeches from Burke to Baldwin*. London: Joseph; Toronto: Saunders, 1937. Pp. 384.

Rev. by W. Schmidt in *Die neueren Sprachen*, XLVI, 327-29.

Heywood, Terence. "Unrhymed poems of yesterday." *Poetry rev.*, XXIX, 25-31.

Hooker, Kenneth Ward. *The fortunes of Victor Hugo in England*. New York: Columbia univ. pr. Pp. xiii+333.

Housman, Lawrence. *The golden sovereign: a book of plays*. London: Cape; New York: Scribner's, 1937. Pp. ix+439.

Includes 19 plays based upon characters and historical events of the Victorian age.

Hultsch, Paul. "Das Denken Nietzsches in seiner Bedeutung für England." *GRM*, XXVI, 359-73.

Klingberg, F. J. "Harriet Beecher Stowe and social reform in England." *AHR*, XLIII, 542-52.

Lea, F. A. "The pessimism of Sigmund Freud." *Adelphi*, XIV, 146-49.

Leacock, Stephen. "Emigration in English literature." *QR*, CCLXX, 204 ff.

Lieder, Paul Robert. *Eminent British poets of the nineteenth century*. 2 vols. New York: Harper. Pp. xxviii+655; 759.

Lippincott, B. E. *Victorian critics of democracy: Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Stephen, Maine, Lecky*. London: Milford, Oxford univ. pr.; Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota pr. Pp. viii+276.

Rev. by L. Eshleman in *NYTBR*, May 1, p. 2; by C. Friedrich in *JPE*, XLVI, 446; by G. Homans in *SRL*, Jan. 29, p. 18; by J. Schapiro in *Polit. sci. quar.*, LIII, 619; by G. Young in *S*, March 25, pp. 526, 528; in *JP*, XXXV, 388.

An able and illuminating study of six critics; attempts "to present, to explain, and to evaluate the intellectual protest made against democracy in England in the nineteenth century" (p. vii); considers not only the writers' criticism of democracy but also their characteristics as writers, the influences which helped shape their thought, their basic assumptions, etc.; excels in analysis of their criticism and in forthright and thoughtful evaluation of it both in Victorian and post-Victorian terms; is weak and sketchy on much of the background, frequently through ambiguous or superficial phrasing (e.g., Carlyle's "championing of the spiritual view of life as against materialism . . . met with little success," "the anti-democratic and authoritarian ideas of the intellectuals failed to make *any* impression on their age" [italics added]); in spite of occasional ingenuousness of ground, a very useful survey of material helpful to scholars and students in Victorian literature presented by a professor of political science.—C. F. H.

Lucas, F. L. *The decline and fall of the Romantic ideal*. See VB 1937, 431.

Rev. by F. Bateson in *RES*, XIV, 233-35.

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- This is a continuation and conclusion of Dr. Taylor's earlier study of *Carlyle: sa première fortune littéraire en France* (Paris: Champion, 1929), which brought the account down to 1865, including the work of Taine. It presents anew, however, five of the earlier chapters, and is thus a remarkably comprehensive study. The influence of no other Victorian has been so exhaustively traced. The author tracks down what seem to be all the significant evidences of Carlyle's influence in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania, from 1825 to 1934. Translation of Carlyle—especially of *The French Revolution* in France and of the *Heroes* in Italy—his reception in the periodicals, the editing and criticizing of his works, the Latin interest in the Froude-Carlyle controversy, and the exploitation of Carlyle's herodotism by Italian Fascism—all make up an impressive and informative study. In addition there are several curious instances of Carlyle's influence in unlikely

places, in Léon Bloy, Verhaeren, Remy de Gourmont, Barrès, and in such Spanish writers as Unamuno, Baroja, and Ortega y Gasset. Perhaps the most memorable of all is the influence of *The French Revolution* on Carducci, to be seen in his sonnet sequence *Ca ira*. Curiously absent is any treatment of the Saint-Simonians, worthy surely to be introduced along with the other earlier material. Only occasionally does the author over-work his instinct for sources and influences, as, for example, in his discussion of the far-fetched possibility of an influence of Machiavelli on Carlyle (p. 14). The chapter on the era of dictators shows to what extent Carlyle's teachings about the "hero" have been appropriated for the exaltation of Mussolini.—C. F. H.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

ON THE TEXT OF THE OLD FRENCH LIVES OF ST. AGNES

ATTENTION is more and more being directed toward the importance of the Old French translations of Latin saints' lives as sources from which valuable information may be drawn concerning not only matters of style and literary technique in the medieval vernacular, but also questions of vocabulary and syntax. In many cases the Latin text upon which the translator worked has survived, and it is consequently possible to observe what he omits and what he amplifies, what changes he makes in the development of the stories, how he renders well-known Latin phrases, what learned words he accepts as likely to be familiar to his readers, how he recasts Latin sentences—in a word, the translations provide material in which we may study the manner in which a medieval writer (or even several independent writers) treats, not a hypothetical source which may exist only in the minds of modern scholars, but a known text which is as accessible in the twentieth century as it was in the thirteenth or fourteenth.

Since the translations of saints' lives are useful as sources of information that cannot so conveniently nor so surely be found elsewhere, it is important that modern editions of them be accurate and reliable. In the interest of accuracy, therefore, I present the following corrections to the texts of three of the five Old French lives of St. Agnes recently published by Alexander Joseph Denomy in his valuable work, *The Old French lives of Saint Agnes, and other vernacular versions of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938). My corrections are based on a collation of the printed texts with the manuscripts available in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The manuscripts of the two texts printed by Denomy on pages 191-213 and 216-25 are not accessible to me.

It is regrettable that the editor did not follow a consistent and uniform system of accentuation, use of the cedilla, distinction of 'i' and 'j,' etc. As a general rule he employs the cedilla and the dieresis throughout his first text (pp. 65-98) which is in verse, but not in the two prose texts (pp. 239-52 and 253-59). Likewise, he distinguishes 'i' and 'j' only in the first text and not in the other two; but 'u' and 'v' are kept separate throughout all three texts, except for occasional lapses. In order not to encumber my list of corrections with citations of the numerous cases in which Denomy has neglected to use the cedilla and the dieresis, or has failed to distinguish the consonantal from the vocalic value of 'i' (or 'j'), I shall consider sufficient this

single mention of his inconsistency in these matters.¹ He regularly omits accents, a procedure which greatly lessens the readability of his texts. One receives the impression that he is not acquainted with the very clear and logical directions for the use of accents and other diacritical marks drawn up by a committee of the Société des Anciens Textes Français, and published in *Romania*, LII (1926), 245-51. If he had followed a system such as that outlined by the committee, he would have spared his readers a considerable amount of hesitation and annoyance in their use of his book.

The corrections herewith offered are arranged in two groups: (I) *Erroneous readings*, that is, readings in which the editor has departed from his basic MS, in most cases inadvertently, since his notes contain no mention of the changes involved and since the changes are not systematically carried through; (II) *Erroneous interpretations*, that is, cases in which the editor has changed the MS deliberately, as shown by his notes, or in which he has allowed an obvious error of the scribe to remain where a correction seems necessary. In all cases the reading of Denomy's text is given before the >, and the reading of the MS, or the suggested correction (in Group II only), after it.

I. ERRONEOUS READINGS

B.N., MS français 1553; Denomy, pp. 65-98 (references are to verse numbers)

1, 9, 240 Qui > Ki—9 chevalier > chevalier—15 definir > definer—27, 778 martire > martyre (but cf. 'martyrier' 608)—41 Deus > Dex (but cf. 'dex' 168, 180)—65 biaute > biautés—67 doulor > dolour—70 quamqu'aves > quank'avés—77 Damedeus > Damedex—89 Chius > Cius—90 roi > rois—109 parole > parolle—119 grand > grant—136 ichit > jehit (The reading 'jehit' is quite clear in MS; furthermore, 'ichit,' which Denomy [Glossary, s.v. 'issir'] says means 'échapper,' could not in this context have the personal pronoun 'cil' as its subject, nor could it take a direct object since 'issir' is an intransitive verb)—140 k'aviesti > raviesti—140, 408 cuit > cuic—141 le pere > li pere—151 que omme > Romme—156 la > sa—175, 583, 599 namporquant > namporquant—224 qu'en > k'en—229 qu'il > k'il—269 vient pourfis > vient nus pourfis—307, 317, 326 diuësse > dyuësse—314 que > ke—377 sent > sene—397 Hee > He (with the same punctuation mark as occurs after 'He' in 344, 585)—408 le revenra > li revenra—414 estreindre > estendre—444 cruelement > cruelment—460 mois de mai > moys de may—471 que > qui—489, 496 maïste > maÿsté—494 cuvre > œuvre—515 paire > faire (The 'f' in 'faire' 466 is identical)—525, 542, 771 loi > loy—551, 570 lois > loys—584 les vesque > le vesque—617, 623 le > li—629 quan > quant—648 devourer > devorer—648 lions > lyons—695 maïstet > maÿstét—724 la vie > l'ame (This furnishes the natural complement of 'cors' in the first

¹ It is not possible to cover in a general statement Denomy's erroneous substitutions of final 's' for 'z' and 'i' for vocalic 'y,' because his treatment of these cases is entirely arbitrary and seems to be based on nothing more than a lack of care in reading the MSS. Since the purpose of the present article is to provide the correct reading of the MSS in every case where it cannot be determined from Denomy's text or notes, it has been necessary to include the comparatively numerous instances of 's' for 'z' and 'i' for 'y.'

hemistisch)—739 enveloper > envoleper—748 viennent > vienent—802 martir > martyr—823 Quand > Quant—835 Desti > Desci—906, 921 de la > de le—922 ens le > ens el—962 tresqu'a > trusqu'a—973 Tous > Vous

B.N., MS français 412; Denomy, pp. 239-52 (references are to page and line of text)

239, 2 par > por—239, 4, 7 que > qe—239, 5 aquerre > aqerre—239, 9 qui > qi—240, 2 corages chenus > corages estoit chenus—240, 5 qui > qi—240, 5 que > qe—240, 7 qu'il > q'il—240, 17 c'on > c'om—240, 22 penture > peuture (Cf. variant 'pasture' cited in note by editor from MS 423; also the Latin text [p. 68]: 'pabulum mortis.' The word 'penture' is given by Godefroy, VI, 88c, as meaning part of a hinge, which obviously has no relation to the present context. Godefroy, VI, 135c-136b, however, gives numerous examples of 'peuture'; to which may be added the following: Beaumanoir, *La Manekine*, 5105; *Recueil général des jeux-partis*, XXII, 47; *Perlesvaus*, 209; *Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, p. 41, l. 16. For the etymology of this word, cf. Joret, *Romania*, IX [1880], 579-80; and Foerster, *ZRPh*, IV [1880], 378)—240, 26 saches > saces—241, 11 oy > oi—241, 22 bon euree > bone euree—241, 25 ne par > ne por—242, 2 comenca > comença—242, 10 doucement > docement—242, 11 apries > après 242, 25 comanca > comença—243, 3 moy > moi—244, 2 ces > tes—244, 11 ordures > ordure—244, 24 oy > oi—245, 13 de lor > par lor—245, 29 graces a > graces ne loenges a—246, 1 la deable > le deable—246, 13 o granz > a granz—246, 15 cruel de > cruel feme de—246, 17 il disoit > il li disoit—246, 19 cui volente > qui volenté—246, 20 quoi cil > quoi tuit cil—246, 27 le resplendisseur > la resplendisseur—246, 31 maintenant > meintenat—247, 17 fausses > fauses—247, 20 ioven cel > jovenciel—247, 30 resuscite > resoscité—247, 31 sousfrir la > sousfrir de la—248, 1 et la la > et la—248, 21 regehis > rejehis—248, 26 finie > finée—249, 9 seule et sanz > seule, sanz—249, 16 vos > voz—250, 2, 10 avuec > aveuc—250, 4 seputure > sopoture—250, 13 mere, si > mere, et si—250, 25 n'avoit ele > n'avoit elle—250, 27 Adonques ele s'esmut > Adonques s'esmut—251, 25 perseverer > perseverer

B.N., MS français 23114; Denomy, pp. 253-59 (references are to page and line of text)

253, 1 sainte > sainete—253, 1 Agnes vault > Agnez vault—253, 3 Encor Agnes > Encor Agnez—253, 6 Agnes > Agnez—253, 6 segniffie > signiffie—253, 8 de la > d'ele—253, 10 seure > senee—253, 13 pensee > penssee—253, 14 encontre > encores—253, 17 Apres > Aprez—253, 17 s'aproche > s'aprocha—253, 18 prometre > prommetre—254, 3 de chi > d'ichi—254, 4 doltur > doleur—254, 4 autre > aultre—254, 11 se est > sy est—254, 12 n'ies > n'yes—254, 12 tuisiurs > tousjours—254, 24 et tout le autre que son espoux les autres fait > et courtoisies que son espoux lui avoit faiz—254, 27 vertu > vertu—254, 28 en singulierement > en la vie singulierement—254, 28 de sainte foy > de la foy—254, 30 Donc sainete > Dont sainte—254, 30

espoux > espeux—254, 32 avironee > avironnee—254, 32 vestue parée > vestue et parée—255, 1 precieulz > precieulx—255, 3 amour > embracement—255, 6 tout > tous—255, 7 salva > s'alita—255, 9 sen > son—255, 10, 18 Agnez > Agnes—255, 12 espoux > espeux—255, 16, 17 adonc > adont (Cf. 256, 21 where the editor has read correctly 'adont')—255, 17 de iuchement > douchement—255, 17 et as manaces > par manaces—255, 18 pæur > paour—255, 19 velras > volras—255, 26 faites > faces—255, 26 ferois > feras—255, 27 sacrefier > sacrifier—255, 28 et Dieu > de Dieu—256, 3 plain(e) > plains—256, 8 virent > veoient—256, 9, 28 vit > vid—256, 14 ot > oï—256, 15 Agnes > Agnez—256, 20 l'avoies > l'aroies (The 'r' is exactly like the 'r' in 'aparoit' in this same line; and the scribe almost always uses 'u' for intervocalic 'v')—256, 21 son > ton—256, 28 Adonc > Adont—256, 29 doub-tasse > doubtast—256, 30 l'emperour > l'empereur—256, 31 condempner > comdempner (*sic*)—256, 34 ardi > ardy—256, 35 glaive > glave—257, 1 espoux > espoeux (*sic*)—257, 3 martirre > martirie—257, 7 l'en > leur—257, 7 escapierent > escapperent—257, 8, 17, 30 sepulture > sepulcre—257, 12, 24 Donc > Dont—257, 12 putement > presentement (MS has 'pñte-ment'; but the editor disregards the overstroke and mistakes the 'n' for a 'u.' The abbreviation is not unusual; cf. L. A. Chassant, *Dictionnaire des abréviations latines et françaises* [3d ed.; Paris, 1866], p. 134, col. 2, l. 5. For the adverb 'présentement,' see Tobler, *Mélanges de grammaire française*, transl. Kuttner and Sudre [Paris, 1905], p. 120)—257, 13, 14 adonc > adont—257, 13 tonnerre > tonnoirre—257, 14 payens > paiens—257, 18 vierges resplendissans > vierges gracieuses et resplendissans—257, 20 s'aresta > s'arresta—257, 23 voie > vie et—257, 24 gloyre > gloire—257, 25 Agnes > Agnez—257, 26 appella > appelle—257, 26 calendrier > kalendier—257, 32 vit > vid—258, 10 femme > feme—258, 13 en honneur > en l'onneur—258, 14 liu puntast > lui presentast (The same abbreviation is involved here as in 257, 12; but in this case the editor has solved the overstroke as an 'n' instead of disregarding it entirely. His reading 'liu puntast' is, however, quite unintelligible)—258, 15 espoux > espeux—258, 15 Adonc > Adont—258, 17 punte > présenté (Cf. above, discussion of 257, 12 and 258, 14)—258, 18 mariage > mariaige—258, 21 de hui > d'hui—258, 22, 33 Agnes > Agnez—258, 23 autre maniere > aultre maniere—258, 24, 29 sainte > sainte—258, 25 Donc > Dont—258, 28 dist > deïst (The impf. subj. is needed here; this verb, like 'alast' in the same line, is dependent on 'dist' of l. 27)—258, 30 doigt > doigt (Cf. MS for 'doigt' 258, 19)—259, 1 Donc > Dont—259, 2 Agnes > Agnez—259, 9 ot noble > ot de tous ses adversaires noble—259, 13 carnelz > carnelz—259, 14 voy > Roy

II. ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATIONS

B.N., MS français 1553; Denomy, pp. 65–98 (references are to verse numbers)

55 amarit > a marit (Denomy defines 'amarir' in his Glossary as 's'acharner,' but does not say where he found this meaning. Godefroy, I, 249a, gives

'amarrir' as 'remplir de chagrin' and cites four examples. Tobler-Lommatzsch, I, 348, list only 'amesrir' and include only the example from Godefroy having that spelling. The verb 'amarrir' in the examples given by Godefroy is transitive only, whereas the present case, as construed in Denomy's text, has no direct object. The solution is obviously: 'tous li sens a marit.' Godefroy, V, 176c-177b, lists dozens of examples of 'marir' used with 'sens,' of which the following from *Huon de Bordeaux*, 1278, is noteworthy: 'Sire, dist il, as tu le sens mari?' Cf. also *R. de la Violette*, 4253, 5575)—65 MS reads 'Nostre' for 'Vostre'; the correction should have been mentioned in a note—67 [m]orir > morir (MS is clear)—85, 101 Fuite > Fui te—109-12 The verbs at the end of these lines should all be first pers. sing.: 'gousta[i],' etc. Note the first sing. in 'sui' 112 and 'ai' 113; cf. also the Latin text (p. 69): 'Jam mel et lac ex ore ejus suscepi.' A similar loss of 'i' in the first sing. occurs in 'faura[i]' 148-110 aconta > aco[i]nta[i] (This is not the verb 'aconter' as in vs. 94, but 'acointier'; for which see Godefroy, I, 61c-63a, esp. 62a, quotation from *Li cuens de Cousit*, MS Berne 389, fol. 59^{vo}; or Gace Brulé, XXXII, 20 [ed. Huet]. Godefroy, I, 72c-73b, does not give for 'aconter' the meaning 'éprouver' which Denomy in his Glossary arbitrarily assigns to it for the present passage)—111 toute mal endonna > toute m'a[b]endonna[i] (Denomy's reading is not satisfactory. He apparently would understand: 'at his command I abandoned all evil'; but the noun 'mal' cannot be modified by a fem. adj. 'toute,' and if 'toute' were emended to 'tout' the line would lack one syllable. Furthermore, the verb 'endonner' seems to have no existence outside of Denomy's Glossary, where it is defined 'abandonner.' It seems preferable to assume that the scribe garbled the text here by writing an 'l' instead of a 'b.' The emended reading 'toute m'abandonnai' fits the context perfectly and accords better than Denomy's reading with the Latin [p. 69]: 'jam amplexibus ejus castis adstricta sum; jam corpus ejus corpori meo sociatum est.' The verb 'abandonner' with a reflexive pronoun is common in Old as in Modern French; cf. Godefroy, I, 16a-b; Tobler-Lommatzsch, I, 38-39)—112 [t]ensa > n'en sa[i] (The editor's note [p. 103] to this line is erroneous. The upper part of the first 'n' is faint in the MS, but can be read. The two vertical strokes which form the lower part of the letter, and which are quite clear, make it impossible to read 't.' Denomy's conjecture in the note, 'je ne sai,' would make the line hypermetric and is impossible paleographically)—117 mis[e en] > mise [en] (The 'e' of 'mise' is clear in MS)—131 [de] fie > n'en fie (The reading 'n'en' is clear enough if the crease in the MS is opened slightly)—135 ki > k'i[l]—183 burin[e] > burine (The editor's note [p. 104] to this line is inaccurate. The final 'e' does not appear clearly in the MS, because it is covered by the tab of paper upon which this folio has been mounted. It can, however, be seen through the mounting-paper; and in any case it could not have been 'cut off in the process of binding,' as the editor conjectures, since it occurs in the inner column of the verso)—222 k'il osent > ki l'osent—227 si > [l]i (The emendation seems obvious)—235 In his Glossary Denomy defines 'piument' of this line as 'boisson composée de miel et d'épices'; but

this meaning will not fit the present context, in which Agnes is accusing the pagans of having idols made of gold, of stone, and of wood, which they paint (or gild) *devoutly* with azure or gold: 'pindre les faites d'asur u d'or pument.' Aside from the fact that 'pument' cannot here be construed as a noun, a 'beverage made of honey and spices' could hardly have been considered an appropriate material for painting idols by even the most extravagant pagan. Obviously the word is a variant of the adverb 'pivement, pieument' listed by Godefroy, VI, 180c-181a, with numerous examples. For the fall of 'e' in 'pument' (instead of 'piument'), see Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Gram.*, II, § 180-256 la ourna > l'aourna-258 tout[e] > toute (MS does not read 'tout'; omit note to this line [p. 105])—260 m[ais le] > m[olt le] (Cf. editor's note [p. 105]; but 'molt le' makes a better reading, since there is no suggestion of an adversative in the context, and 'bien' of the second hemistich is the natural complement of 'molt' in the first)—264, 300, 613, 884 ni > n'i—273 puent > pue[le]nt (Line as it stands in Denomy's text lacks one syllable. Cf. 'pueent' 221)—316 lechiere > le[g]iere (Denomy defines 'lechiere' in his Glossary as 'trompeuse, perfide,' but does not say where he found this meaning. Godefroy gives 'lechiere' only as a masc. noun, s.v. 'lecheor, lecheresse' [IV, 750b-c], not as a fem. adj. On the other hand, 'legier, legiere' [cf. Godefroy, IV, 756a and X, 69c] fits perfectly for sense, and the passage of 'g > ch' for this scribe would not be difficult; cf. the inverse 'ch > g' in 'manache > manage' 333)—322 N'a > N'a[s] (The emendation is needed here just as much as in vs. 291, where the editor has supplied the 's.' Note the second sing. in vss. 323, 324)—329, 567 estaura > estavra—352 Punctuate as follows: 'l'en a tout fait; c'est honte et c'est destroit.' It will not then be necessary to assume, as Denomy does in his note (p. 107), that 'honte' could be masculine—359 viseuse > uiseuse (This is not the same word as 'viseus' 228, which Denomy defines correctly in his Glossary as 'sage, prudent'; cf. Godefroy, VIII, 289c-290a. The definition 'lent, tardif,' which he gives for vss. 359 and 833, is not supported by any of the examples cited by Godefroy under 'voisos, viseus.' For vs. 359 the reading must be 'uiseuse,' meaning 'idle, inactive'; cf. Godefroy, X, 229a-b, s.v. 'oisos.' The line, therefore, is not hypermetric as Denomy claims in his note [p. 107], since the final 'e' of 'mie' will elide before 'uiseuse')—411 sa[ut] > saut—518 aquerre > a querre—532 re[s]ui > refui (MS reading can be maintained; 'refui' would equal Mod. French 'je rede vins')—556, 685 noms > nons (MS has 'nōs' in both instances; but cf. 760, 861 where 'nō' is solved 'non.' In 556 and 685 'nons' is necessary for the eye-rimes)—560 [et] > por (MS does not read 'que' as editor's note [p. 108] indicates, but has a Tironian symbol similar to the one indicated by L. A. Chassant, *Dictionnaire des abréviations*, p. 134, col. 2, l. 10, for 'pour.' Translate 559-60: 'And [they were able] to pass off lies as truth, in order to be masters . . . etc.' This gives a more satisfactory meaning than the co-ordinating conjunction suggested in the editor's note)—605 Add comma after 'es'—624 deus > d'aus (MS is not clear, but the second letter

is 'a,' not 'e'; cf. 'aus' 804. The preposition is needed before the infinitive dependent on 'perecheus')—637 MS has 'En' for 'Un'; the correction should have been indicated in a note—668 *entre en* > *entre* ('entre en' of the MS is probably merely a scribal error. The copyist began to write 'entre' a second time and noticed his mistake before he finished the word)—695 For '[j]our' MS has 'gour'; the correction should have been indicated in a note—779 The note (p. 111) to this line saying that the MS reads 'baptistre' is inaccurate; MS has 'batistre'—782 *ars prist a messer* > *a[i]rs prist a mesler* (Denomy in his Glossary gives 'ars' and 'messer' as meaning 'feu' and 'éclater' respectively; but no such meanings appear in Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch. Possibly the editor takes 'ars' as a derivative of 'ardoir'; but the form seems to be instanced nowhere else. Godefroy, V, 304b, gives 'messer' as a variant of 'mucier' ['to hide or conceal'], which is obviously impossible in the present context. The MS can be read 'mesler' just as well as 'messer' and 'ar' is a common variant of 'air' [cf. Godefroy, VIII, Compl., p. 61c]. The line, therefore, means: 'the air began to be disturbed,' i.e. 'a storm arose.' For 'mesler' as an intransitive verb meaning 'se soulever, devenir orageux,' cf. Godefroy, V, 288c, and the passage there quoted from Wace, *Vie de St. Nicholas*, 234-36: 'Si commença la mer a emfler, A creistre et a meller; Grant vent vint et espesse pluie' [ed. M. S. Crawford; Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania diss., 1923])—833 *viseus* > *uiseus* (Cf. above, discussion of vs. 359)—834 *tardiu(s)* > *tardius* (the editor's note [p. 112] to this line is difficult to understand. The MS gives an acceptable nominative and a nominative is needed. Possibly the editor intended to emend to an oblique form, for he enters 'tardif 834' in his Glossary. The form 'tardius' is well attested; cf. Godefroy, VII, 647a and X, 743c)—845 *v[e]lut* > *vaut* ('vaut' is a common Picard form of the perf. 3 of *voloir*; cf. *Aucassin et Nicolette* [ed. Roques, 1929], XXVI, 12, and XXXVIII, 13. A past tense is needed here, as is shown by the imperf. subj. in 847)—850 *seul[e]* > *seul* (The emendation is erroneous; 'seul' is quite common as an adverb in Old French, especially after a negative. Cf. *Roland*, 1034, 1934, 3672. Editor's note [p. 112] to this line should be omitted)—868 The editor's note (p. 113) to this line, with its assumption of a very illogical shift of person in the verb, is hardly necessary. 'ai' is more probably a mere scribal slip. Note the inverse loss of 'i' in the first sing. of 109-12, 148-895, 897 *n'auras* > *n'avras*—977, 978 *aura* > *avra* (For these futures, see M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, § 976; or Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, II, § 208, 1)

B.N., MS français 412; Denomy, pp. 239-52 (references are to page and line of text)

240, 8 *lor[s]* > *lor* (MS reading can be maintained. Translate: 'and [he] began to offer them great things')—240, 24 *m'auras* > *m'avras*—241, 26 *[a] son* > *son* (Emendation unnecessary; the preposition is not needed in this construction; cf. Foulet, *Petite syntaxe* [3d ed.], §§ 37-38; or Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, V, § 96, 3)—242, 12 *ne pot* > *ne [ne] pot*—242, 23 *lendemein*

l'endemein—242, 27 quasse[e] > quasse (The emendation is wrong: 'quasse' is the feminine form of 'quas'; cf. *R. de Troie*, 5299–5300: 'La parole aveit auques basse, Soëf voiz ot e douce e quasse')—243, 3 lire > l'ire—243, 13 [et sourdes] > et sordes (MS does not omit these words)—244, 15, 25 len > l'en—245, 1 MS has 'par' for 'por'; the change should have been noted. MS reading could have been retained; cf. Godefroy, V, 732b.—245, 12 nus [qui] la > nus ne la (The editor's emendation is erroneous; the MS reading is perfectly acceptable: 'nus ne la veoit n'en doutoit que li angele. ...' If a relative were to be supplied at all, it should come after 'veoit'; but the omission of the relative in constructions of this type is common in Old French. Cf. Foulet, *Petite syntaxe* [3d ed.], § 495; or Lerch, *Hist. franz. Syntax*, I, 160–61)—245, 24 [de] > de (MS does not omit this word)—247, 2 Len saura > L'en savra—248, 20 len > l'en—249, 10 Add comma after 'per'—249, 26 f[ij]rent > firent (MS does not read 'furent'; omit footnote 7 of this page)—250, 27 s[a] > si (MS reading is perfectly good; and, according to the editor's footnote 6 of this page, it is supported by another MS)—251, 9 ni > n'i—251, 25 auront > avront

B.N., MS français 23114; Denomy, pp. 253–59 (references are to page and line of text)

254, 2 Valent > Va t'ent—254, 13 MS adds 'a lui' after 's'assambla.' The editor is probably right in omitting it, but he should have indicated his correction in a note—254, 30–33 Punctuate as follows: 'Mon espeux m'a de son aniel espousee, et de pierres precieuses m'a mon corps avironnee, d'une robe d'or m'a vestue et paree, et de tres precieux fremaulx m'a cointement avironee'—255, 2 lave[e] > lavét (MS does not read 'laver' as indicated in Denomy's footnote. Note that 'enoingt' in this line is also a masc. past participle)—255, 14 For 'vantoit,' which is probably correct, MS has 'vaultoit'; which should be indicated in a note—255, 19 For 'n'amenras' MS has 'nanenras' (sic), which should have been emended to 'ne m'amenras' or 'ne me menras'—255, 22 sera > sera[s] (Note the second sing. in the verbs in the preceding line)—256, 21 Since the MS has 'ton' and not 'son,' the quotation marks after 'encantement' should be placed after 'innocence'—257, 23 m'[a] > m'a MS does not read 'moi'; omit footnote 1 of this page)—258, 1 For 'en gariras' MS has 'et gariras'; correction should have been indicated in a note—258, 27 sainte > saint[e] (MS has 'saint'; correction should have been indicated)—258, 33 dist toutes > dist: "Toutes (Close the quotation after 'loer' in the same line)—259, 7 martire > martir[e] (MS has 'martir'; correction should have been indicated)—259, 14 Punctuate as follows: 'vray espoux, c'est le Roy du ciel; et ot en. ...'

Catholic University of America

WILLIAM ROACH

BOOK REVIEWS

Kulturräume und Kulturströmungen im mitteldeutschen Osten. By WOLFGANG EBERT, THEODOR FRINGS, KÄTHE GLEISSNER, RUDOLF KÖTZSCHKE, GERHART STREITBERG. Vol. I, Text; Vol. II, Karten. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1936. Pp. xviii+349.

In Volume I, W. Ebert treats briefly the geography of Upper Saxony and Thuringia (pp. 1-12). R. Kötzschke follows with an extensive historical survey of this territory. In his chapter he deals with the political (pp. 15-68) and ecclesiastical (pp. 68-91) evolution of this region, discusses the various modes of settlement, the rise and significance of cities, and the means of communication in this section (pp. 92-135), and describes the growth, formulation, and geographical distribution of legal codes in this part of Middle Eastern Germany (pp. 135-59). In the third chapter Th. Frings and K. Gleissner investigate in detail the linguistic structure and the word geography of Saxony and Thuringia (pp. 175-248), and G. Streitberg considers, on the basis of answers to questionnaires of the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde*, a limited number of folkloristic phenomena common to this region (pp. 248-61). The final chapter, by Th. Frings, bears the same title as does the book and is a summary, integrating the results of the earlier separate investigations (pp. 273-317). In addition, there are a preface, telling of the origin of this work and the method used in its preparation (pp. ix-xviii), bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter, an index of the ninety-seven maps and charts which constitute Volume II, and an index (pp. 329-49).

From this description it is clear that the two volumes are the result of co-operation. Members of the Germanistisches Institut and of the Seminar für Landesgeschichte und Siedlungskunde, of the University of Leipzig, both teachers and pupils, are the collaborators. In a general way they have followed the method of investigation and the plan of publication of H. Aubin-Th. Frings-J. Müller's *Kulturströmungen und Kulturprovinzen in den Rheinlanden* (1926). This book did for one of the most important portions of the West-Elbian territory of Germany what the present two volumes intend to do for one of the most significant parts of East-Elbian Germany, viz., to undertake a comprehensive investigation into the linguistic and cultural geography of an influential sector of Germany. For this reason, state, church, settlement, travel, and law—fields ordinarily belonging to the domain of the historian—are studied in the light of and in correlation with the dialects and *Volkskunde*, usually considered the exclusive realms of the philologist and folklorist, as facets of something which happened in a given area—hence the

geographical introduction—and which has significance for the culture of the whole country. The “something” in our case is the evolution of the standard modern German language. But for this bond, the individual chapters and the separate charts would be only *disiecta membra* (see especially pp. iv, xiii, 178, 312–14).

It is self-evident that a review of this work cannot be undertaken by one person. Certainly the undersigned does not claim to be a competent judge of the geographical sections of the two volumes, nor does he wish to pose as possessing R. Köttschke's knowledge of the minutiae of Saxon history. The present reviewer must be satisfied with two things. He wishes, first, to comment favorably on the fact that Th. Frings—he is without a doubt the *spiritus rector*—in editing the various parts of the work never permits the reader to lose sight of the goal of this co-operative undertaking, i.e., to present the factors that are responsible for the evolution of the standard modern German language. This he does by piling evidence upon evidence that the territory of Meissen, and within this territory the city of Leipzig, gradually became the center where originated and whence radiated the standard modern German language (p. 27). In the thirteenth century, Leipzig lies in the heart of the Eisenach-Leipzig-Magdeburg territory (p. 178). In the fifteenth century, next to the Hapsburg lands the Saxon possessions of the house of Wettin are the largest single territorial unit of the Holy Roman Empire, and Saxony's cultural center is Leipzig, and Leipzig is the point where north and south and east and west meet (pp. xv–xvii). Leipzig is the Middle German terminus of the Nürnberg-Leipzig axis (p. 312). To establish these facts Frings uses, among other things, maps, especially Nos. 18–20, 23, 25. It is the Meissen-Leipzig language which becomes Luther's language.

This language, then, derives not primarily and principally from the language of the early humanism of Prague, but primarily and principally from the language of the people of this new, colonized territory. It is not the language of the chancellery which has, eventually, produced the popular speech of this section of Germany and the standard modern German language; it is rather the living idiom of the folk which has shaped the language of the chancellery. Thus Frings and his collaborators deny and destroy the well-known thesis of Burdach-Brent concerning the origin of the modern German *Schriftsprache* (pp. xiii, xvii, 309–14).

The reviewer wishes, in the second place, to mention a few details. On page 99, attention is called to the cult of St. Kilian, a Franconian saint (particularly in the territory around Würzburg), in the land west of the Mulde river. The conclusion is drawn, rightly, that the original home of the settlers in question is Franconia. Or rather, other data together with this fact permit one to draw the conclusion that the settlers in question came from Franconia. The investigation of cults of other saints and of special local beliefs should yield similar good results. In the reviewer's opinion, an investigation of the west-east migration of the cult of St. Oswald might clear up the riddle of

the parish church "Sti. Oswaldi" in Crummendorf near Strehlen in Silesia (see Georg Baesecke, *Der wiener Oswald* [Heidelberg, 1912], pp. lxxxvii-cv). A somewhat parallel case is the transfer of the belief in *Frau Herke* (*Harke*) from the West-Elbian territory lying between this river and the Harz Mountains to the Altmark and thence to East-Elbian territory (see W. Seelmann, "Die Herkunft der Besiedler der Mittelmark," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, XLIX [1923], 57-60). On page 107 it is claimed that places named after natural features of the landscape [*Bach* (-beke) und *Feld*, *Brunnen* (-brunn, born) und *Lichtungen*] tell nothing certain about the original homes of the settlers. This may be true. On the other hand, Alfred Meiche was able to establish the provenience of the German settlers in Saxony from place names and dialects in "Die Herkunft der deutschen Siedler im Königreich Sachsen nach den Ortsnamen und Mundarten," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für sächsische Volkskunde*, III (1905), 327 ff. In this article he mentions Weissenborn, northwest of Zwickau, which he establishes as an originally Thuringian settlement, and Weissenbrunn, southwest of Zwickau, which he establishes as an originally Franconian settlement.

To add to the bibliographical notes of Volume I would serve no useful purpose. I have missed a number of older works. They have not been omitted through carelessness, much less because they were not known to the authors. This is evident from a perusal of, e.g., R. Köttschke's *Staat und Kultur im Zeitalter der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* ("Aus Sachsens Vergangenheit," Heft 1 [Leipzig, 1910]), which contains an excellent bibliography. Especially good are the bibliographical references on pages 166-70. To page 160, No. 1, I should like to add Max Vasmer, "Germanen und Slawen in Ostdeutschland in alter Zeit," *Namn och Bygd*, XXI (1933), 113 ff., and R. Köttschke (ed.), *Forschungen zur Geschichte Sachsens und Böhmens* (Dresden, 1937). Incidentally, this work shows how the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* and the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* can be used and how they can be used together.

JOHN G. KUNSTMANN

University of Chicago

The Works of Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas. By URBAN T. HOLMES, JR., JOHN C. LYONS, ROBERT W. LINKER. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press; Vol. I, 1935; Vol. II, 1938. Pp. 240; 440.

Occasionally, as was the case with Maurice Scève and Marguerite de Navarre, a new edition of a Renaissance poet unpublished and forgotten for over two centuries causes a renewal of interest in him and a reappraisal of his literary value. Should the works of Du Bartas, that learned, independent, ardent provincial, ever regain the high esteem in which his contemporaries held them, this may be due to the critical edition which Professor Holmes and his associates are publishing. The first of three projected volumes contains a study of the poet's life and works; the second includes the texts of the *Muse*

Chrestienne and the *Première Sepmaine*. These volumes, handsomely printed and carefully edited, give promise of remaining the standard text of the poet, easily superseding less competent earlier editions, the most recent of which dates from 1632.

The life of the poet is relatively brief, and the authors have been criticized for failing to present a flesh-and-blood Du Bartas. This criticism is in part justified. Their method, however, is thoroughly scholarly. They do not pad their biography with a study of the historical environment, as is often done; they do not exceed the limits of inference afforded by the somewhat meager data and documents; they fabricate no personality for Du Bartas by conjecturing him as an unambitious, apathetic, bookloving skeptic, as some of his verses might have prompted less cautious scholars to do.¹

Like Desportes and Ronsard, Du Bartas was honored by numerous editions, sanctioned and pirated, in the three decades following the first appearance of his works.² In their chapter on the early editions, Professor Holmes and his co-editors have revised and augmented Ashton's bibliography of the poet.³ There remain, however, a few items which the new editors do not include. One of these is an edition the existence of which they did not know, and two others are concerned with copies of known editions. The former edition, one of the *Première Sepmaine*, was printed by Thomas de la Ruelle of Paris in 1603, and to fill out the second volume of this two-volume edition, the minor works of the *Muse Chrestienne*, as printed by Jean Ducarroy, were appended.⁴ The pagination of the minor works continues that of the *Création*. The Newberry Library, a repository of incunabula and early editions that bibliographers should not overlook,⁵ contains a Latin translation of 1579 which, despite two minor differences, is probably the same as one mentioned by the authors.⁶ Moreover, the same library has a copy of the 1632 edition of the *Œuvres poetiques et Chrestiennes* which varies from a copy listed by the Holmes group.⁷

¹ E.g., *Sonnet à F. Remond*, II, 190.

² J. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire* (Paris, 1865), V, 98, suggests that thirty editions of the *Weeks* appeared in a few years.

³ H. Ashton, *Du Bartas en Angleterre* (Paris, 1908).

⁴ In the University of Chicago Rare Book Room: this edition is similar to item 28 of the list of editions of the *Création* on the Holmes list (p. 74). The title-page differs slightly from that of the 1603 edition of Adrian Perier. Under the vignette follows: "A PARIS / Chez Thomas de la Ruelle, tenant sa boutique / que au Palais, deuant la Sainte Chappelle. / 1603." The title-page of the minor works concluding Vol. II is almost identical with that of item 28hm of the Holmes bibliography (p. 100). The dimensions of the *Création* coincide with Holmes, item 28, but the *Muse* is apparently of different dimensions from item 28hm.

⁵ This library has, for example, six English translations before and including 1641, and an English version (1621) of Goulart's notes.

⁶ Newberry Library Y762:D8357: The title-page reads the same as in Holmes, item 1 (p. 106), except that the acknowledgment reads: "Ez Gallico G. Salustij du Bartas Heptamero expressa." Also, comma after *Parisiis*.

⁷ This copy is similar to item 38 (p. 77). The Newberry copy lacks the words *avant son deces*, however, and the linear disposition is somewhat different. The size is the same in both cases, 3.3 x 1.5.

The richness of American libraries in these early volumes must be gratifying to American scholars and will no doubt surprise European specialists in the Renaissance. The only American library that Ashton thought necessary to examine, for example, was that of Boston. Professor Holmes has found various copies in fifteen American libraries; there are twenty-three copies of the first *Week*, twenty-six of the second *Week*, and eighteen copies of the minor works in this country.⁸

In the section devoted to the critical reactions to Du Bartas, the authors might have included a few more recent opinions than those of Gascon scholars and Romantic critics. The only contemporary judgments cited are those of Jean Plattard and Croce. The opinions of the earlier humanists and critics are carefully recorded, and it is interesting to compare these with the success that the numerous printings of the late sixteenth century attest. We hope that Professor Holmes will find a way to include a discussion of Du Bartas in England and a bibliography of the English translations by Sylvester, Thomas Hudson, *et al.*, at the end of his third volume, even if it is only to give a summary of the work of Professor G. C. Taylor covering this field.

It is our impression that more could have been written on the style of Du Bartas. Whatever his faults, no poet in the sixteenth century seemed to understand so well the power of the French alexandrine. None appreciated more the rhythm and balance possible through use of the caesura. The subject matter of Du Bartas, often encyclopedic, often trivial, may become monotonous, but his style never flags. The variety of poetic devices, subtler than those of the *facteurs* two generations before him, and his feeling, conscious or unconscious, for *procédés* based on the alexandrine or the hemistich enrich his style greatly. Occasionally unsuccessful, they are generally striking. Some of the common devices are:

The paradox: *Bien qu'il soit privé d'yeux, ne soit privé de veue* (349); *Il devient casanier, car vivant il ne vit* (374); *Le quadran ne marquoit en douze heures qu'une heure* (335); *Tuant de son venin le venin qui le tue* (385).

Alliteration: *Vire et desire dire: adieu Dieu, adieu Dieu* (360); *Se presente a ses yeux, si que essain sur essain* (325); *Puis comme un prince accort qui, couvant dans le coeur* (326).

Augmentative progression: *Par beaux enseignemens, par exemple, et par crainte* (435); *Naist un vers, puis un oeuf, puis un autre oiseau* (359); *Adjoustans champs à champs, et maisons à maisons, Monts à monts, mers à mers, et (s'il se pouvoit faire) Au monde un autre monde* (343).

So numerous are these *procédés* that we can here do no more than list a few below.⁹

⁸ A few of these, of course, are photostatic copies at North Carolina.

⁹ The figures, based on Holmes's second volume, represent the numbers of the page and verse respectively. *Onomatopoeia*: 360, 615; 120, 101. *Simile*: 330, 669; 341, 119; 380, 104. *Balance*: 94, 33; 345, 230; 355, 499. *Single contrast*: 388, 61; 320, 393; 130, 346. *Double contrast*: 436, 602; 409, 921; 320, 395. *Repetition*: 325, 517; 347, 288; 375, 1014. *Restatement*: 331, 683; 416, 48. *Variation of cognate*: 373, 944; 416, 42; 435, 570. This list,

The editors have followed the Laumonier method in basing their text of the *Muse Chrestienne* on the first printed edition of 1574, with variants from other editions (1579 and 1585) which were corrected by Du Bartas. For the *Première Sepmaine* the 1585 text was the standard, with variants added from the 1578 first edition and that of Goulart in 1593. The text appears to be meticulously checked;¹⁰ to confirm this the reviewer has used a copy of the rare Angelier edition of 1585, but he has been unable to check the earlier portion of Volume II with the 1574 edition of the *Muse*, which is found, according to Professor Holmes, only at Grenoble.

A difference will be noted between the commentary and notes in this volume and those which Laumonier, Parturier, and Chamard have written for their editions of French Renaissance poets. Although the general sources of Du Bartas' ideas are recorded with care, there is almost no comparison of his verses with those of his contemporaries or his immediate predecessors. One feels that this device might have been more freely used, without detriment to the poet's originality. We quote a few such *rapports* below.¹¹ Petrarch's influence on the *Triomfe de la foy* the authors seem to have overlooked: his *Trionfo della fama* is evident not only in the spirit of the *Triomfe* but in particular verses as well. Many names of the procession follow in order from Petrarch: Aurelian, Trajan, Marcus-Aurelius (*Triomfe*, p. 140, and *Trionfo*, I, 121 ff.), Maximilian, Zeno, Cleanthes, Chryssipus, Diogenes, Carneades,

as well as the examples, could be continued extensively. The authors discuss in passing sensory effects (I, 180), metaphors (I, 181); for more general considerations of style see I, 58-60.

¹⁰ One regrets in a way the manner in which capitalization of adjectives (Pryenien, Amycleane) has been modernized. One can go too far in bringing a text up to date.

¹¹ *Son ventre engendre-estain, crache-fil, porte-laine, Fournit de quenouilles* (437), obviously from Ronsard's *Quenouille: Aime-laine, aime-fil, aime-etain* (Laumonier-Lemerre, I, 195).

Je sçay que la terre a l'homme miserable Semble estre non plus mere, ains marastre execrable (295), an idea of both Pliny (*Hist. nat.* vii. 1) and Quintilian (*Inst. orat.* xii. 1) reappears in Ronsard's *La nature est marastre a quelques-uns, Du Thier, Aux autres elle est mere* (Laumonier-Lemerre, VI, 340).

On lawyers: Cf. *chicaneurs (harpies des parquets Et sang-sues du peuple)* (301) and the Grippeminaud of Rabelais, V, xi: *Les mains avoit pleines de sang, les gryphes comme de harpye*.

On effects of knowing God: Cf. *Pour rendre grands docteurs ceux qui n'ont point de lettres* (430), and Marguerite de Navarre, *Dernières poésies*, ed. Lefranc, p. 401: *Et l'idiot en Dieu est fait prescheur*.

Cf. *Paraissez, si tu veuz apprendre ta leçon, Va-t-en a la formy*, and Prov. 6:6: *Vade ad formicam, o piger, et aemulare vias ejus*.

The conception of the poet (162) as a swan was common in antiquity, for as the bird of Apollo he sang sweetly and had prophetic powers. For the contemporary use of this motif, see A. Cameron, *Influence of Ariosto on Ronsard and his group* (Baltimore, 1930), p. xvi, and R. V. Merrill, *The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 87-91.

On Petrarchists: cf. *Je ne puis d'un oeil sec voir mes soeurs macquerelles Des amoureux François, dont les mignards escrits Sont plains de feinte souspira, de feints pleurs, de feints cris ... et de vaines querelles*, and Heroet, *Parfaite Amye*, III, 1507 ff.: *Que de souspira et de froydes querelles, etc.*; see also Du Bellay's *Contre les pétrarquistes* and Ronsard's *Élégie à son liure* at the beginning of Book II of the *Amours*.

Anaxarchus, Metrodorus, *et al.* These are lifted principally from Parts II and III of the *Trionfo*, and ingeniously made defenders or opponents of the Faith in the vision of Du Bartas. It must be recognized, however, that the independence and originality of Du Bartas's thought gave little occasion for such juxtapositions. The explanatory notes are thorough and competent. The forthcoming appearance of the third and last volume, with its bibliography, will mark completion of a durable monument to this long-neglected later period of the Renaissance.¹²

ROBERT J. CLEMENTS

University of Chicago

Goethes Verhältnis zum Drama: Die theoretischen Bemerkungen im Zusammenhang mit seinem dramatischen Schaffen. By FRIEDRICH SENGLE. ("Neue deutsche Forschungen, Abteilung, Neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte," Band IX.) Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt Verlag, 1937. Pp. 131.

This approach to Goethe's dramatic creations from the standpoint of the genre itself is both pertinent and timely. For, apart from the studies of Robert Petsch, very little exists on the problem of the appeal of the relatively objective norms of the various genres to the poet and his attainments and limitations in the light of their demands. In attempting an investigation of the relationship of Goethe to the drama, Sengle blazes new scientific trails.

The monograph falls into five parts: (1) Goethe's attitude toward the laws of the genre; (2) his dramatic interests and talents; (3) his conception of tragedy and comedy; (4) his dramatic techniques; (5) the poet's relationship to the theater. In theory, Goethe at different times both advocated and opposed the belief in the necessity of preserving stylistic purity in the individual literary types. In his dramatic practice, however, he almost nowhere completely obeys the restrictive laws of a genre, since his chief goal is not the form but the expression of his genius.

Goethe's dramatic inclinations are not, as Gundolf claimed, transitory expressions of his early enthusiasm for Shakespeare, but are, as Sengle thinks, recurrent manifestations of genuine interest in drama. Still, one must not believe, as did Chamberlain, that the poet preferred the dramatic genre to the exclusion of the other types and that he was most successful in use of the drama as a mode of creation. Such convictions are, as Sengle rightly insists, meaningless unless based on an examination of Goethe's works from the point of view of the objective demands of the drama. The poet finds his vehicle of expression in all genres, although he continually made use of the dramatic form from the *Urgötz* to the completed *Faust*. Such persisting interest despite the obvious structural weaknesses of his dramas, gives sufficient evi-

¹² An occasional ambiguous expression and a few inaccuracies have passed unchecked: P. 60, l. 6: comma missing. P. 135, l. 18: *milieu* for *milion*, which correction is made in the second volume. P. 182, l. 22: quotation marks missing. Also, p. 107: a study of Ashton's catalogue and the Chicago edition indicates that the date of item 7 should be 1609, not 1619. The letters M. D. have also been omitted from the title-page as in Ashton.

dence of a real dramatic bent. Here, again, the chief consideration is self-expression rather than form. The recurrent desire for dialectics, indicated in the poet's preference for the dialogue, Sengle thinks, lies behind Goethe's constant preoccupation with the dramatic genre. While successfully employing dialogue as a dramatic device in his most formally perfect works and making use of mimicry (a very important element) to good effect in *Faust*, only the young Goethe was able to effect a synthesis of these two elements. Thus it is that except for the dramas from the *Urgötz* to *Egmont* Goethe never successfully created a "Germanic" drama worthy of the dramas of Shakespeare or Kleist.

Sengle proceeds, then, to an analysis of the tragic and comic in Goethe's life and works. He is inclined to agree with Korff and Janantzki in their belief in the omnipresence of the tragic in the poet's life. Because the awareness of this tragic destiny constantly threatened his own spiritual development, Goethe sought to flee from it. The essence of tragedy Goethe found not in the conflict of the social and political ideals of two divergent ages, as did Hebel, but solely in the realm of the individual human soul, in the clash of unlimited genius with the objective claims of society. This hypothesis of the author seems rather shaky when one recalls the increasing social consciousness of the old Goethe and his almost constant preoccupation with the social needs of his own and coming ages. Too long has the supposed unsocial outlook of Goethe been used as a means of attack on him. The *Wanderjahre*, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, and *Faust II* disprove this claim. Goethe's failure to produce a successful comedy is rooted, the author thinks, in the poet's withdrawal from and repudiation of the community (*Gemeinschaft*), the true milieu of comedy.

In commenting on Goethe's dramatic technique, Sengle points out that Goethe preferred the popular, relatively simple forms to the technically more difficult ones. Only the early dramas, that is, from *Götz* to *Egmont*, are at all satisfactory in a dramatico-theatrical sense. In the development from the dramatic force of the *Urfaust* to the epic pallor of *Die natürliche Tochter*, Sengle sees evidence of the poet's turning-away from the ideals of his nation, since the drama is, more than the other genres, closely related to the community. Be that as it may, Goethe's apparently indifferent attitude toward the political fate of Germany is based not on apathy or selfishness but on necessity. In turning away from the temporal to the eternal, Goethe followed his destiny. Friedrich Muckermann has, once and for all, answered such criticisms from those of Wolfgang Menzel to the attacks of Sengle in a brilliantly intuitive analysis of this aspect of Goethe's character: "Die Natur ist ein überzeitlicher Maszstab, und sie darf ihrem Lieblinge, der ihre Stimme sein soll, auch gestatten, abseits der groszen Strasse ihrem Geheimnis zu lauschen, um Dinge zu sagen, die jeder Generation und jedem Jahrhundert von neuem gesagt werden müssen" (*Goethe* [Bonn, 1931], p. 74). Since Goethe's dramatic creations were, on the whole, written without regard to the peculiar needs and demands of the stage, they have not enjoyed the popularity

of the plays of Schiller. Then, too, his constant loyalty to the classical stage style prevented Goethe, the stage director, from a fair appraisal of the worth of the work of the younger contemporary dramatists.

Despite my dissatisfaction with Sengle's interpretation of certain aspects of Goethe's character—and his misunderstanding is, in places, basic—I find this study able. Let us hope that it will be followed by investigations of Goethe's relations to the other genres. At the same time, I should like to see a little less *Zeitgeist* in these studies; it is responsible, without doubt, for the limitations of Sengle's monograph. There is a complete bibliography.

WILLIAM J. MULLOY

Vanderbilt University

Carlyle et la pensée latine. ("Etudes de littérature étrangère et comparée," Vol. VIII.) By ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. Paris: Boivin, 1937. Pp. viii+442.

This work is a continuation and conclusion of Dr. Taylor's earlier study of *Carlyle: sa première fortune littéraire en France* (Paris: Champion, 1929), which brought the story down to 1865, including the work of Taine. The present survey, however, goes back to the beginning, and sets forth anew the materials of five of the earlier chapters, so that in this book we have a remarkably comprehensive study. The author has aimed to do three things: (1) to sketch the work of Carlyle in relation to the history of English thought, (2) to indicate the points of contact between Carlyle's intellectual development and the culture of the Latin countries, and (3) to reveal the nature and extent of their intelligent reception of Carlyle's ideas. This is an ambitious program: only the third aim can be said to have been attained. Dr. Taylor's work is important chiefly as an accurate, exhaustive, and well-documented account of Carlyle's reputation in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania, from the earliest mention of him in the *Revue britannique* of December, 1825 (a translation of Jeffrey's review of Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*), down to the present, or at least until the appearance of Campanini's translation of *Heroes* in 1934, and the canonization of Carlyle as a Fascist saint. The account is based not only on the usual sources, such as the *Revue des deux mondes* or the *Revue historique*, but also on such periodicals as *Le Correspondant*, the *Revue européenne*, *Le Constitutionnel*, the *Journal des débats*, and *Polybiblion*, and on Italian and Spanish sources other than the *Nuova antologia* or the *Rivista hispano-americana*, on the *Rivista europea*, *La Epoca*, *La Civiltà cattolica*, *El Imparcial*, the *Rivista bibliografica italiana*. The chief critics and expositors, of course, play the greater and the more important part: Chasles, Dilmans, Montégut, Louis Etienne, Barthélemy, Masson, Taine, Izoulet, in France; Mazzini, Nencioni, Bogletti, and Vinciguerra, in Italy; Antoniadé and Botez, in Rumania; Mme. Vaz de Carvalho, Moniz Barreto, Oliveira Martins, and Theophilo Braga, in Portugal; Heredia, Valera, Pelayo, in Spain. These names serve to show, though incompletely, the enor-

mous extent of Carlyle's fame and influence throughout Europe in the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. The list is further extended in the highly interesting third chapter of Part III, which traces Carlyle's influence where many of us would least expect it, in Paul Bourget, in Barrès, in Verhaeren, in Maeterlinck, Anatole France, and Rémy de Gourmont. The evidences are not always weighty, but they are seldom negligible. More striking is the Carlylean tone of passages in Léon Bloy's *La Chevalière de la mort* (p. 193, n. 3), written under the inspiration of Carlyle's *French revolution*.

The outstanding chapters are inevitably those devoted to Taine and Mazzini, to the French translations and criticisms of *The French revolution*, and to the Italian editions and criticisms of the *Heroes*. Italian readers were naturally drawn to Carlyle's lectures on great men because of the exaltation of Dante in the third lecture. Later, after 1920, the general theory of hero-leadership and mass-obedience was to prove highly susceptible to Fascist exploitation. In Spain, especially in the "generation of 98," there has been striking evidence of Carlyle's influence in such writers as Unamuno, Baroja, and Ortega y Gasset, notably in the emphasis on the superiority of intuition and faith to reason, on the identity of might and right, and on the necessity of an "idealist reaction" to liberalistic rationalism. Among the more diverting details of an otherwise rather sober and pedestrian study, we note Napoleon III's conception of himself as a "hero" after Carlyle's great pattern: "On voit bien," writes Dr. Taylor, "à quel point cette conception de la mission providentielle des grands hommes ressemble à celle qu'avait formulée Carlyle dans son *Culte des héros*. Sans affirmer que Napoléon III s'est tout à fait inspiré des doctrines de Carlyle, ce qui serait beaucoup trop dire, il nous semble possible de voir dans ces doctrines un des facteurs qui ont servi à cristalliser en lui la conviction de la mission divine de la famille Bonaparte" (pp. 119-20). In a footnote the author cites a more convinced authority, the Comte de Ludre, who in *Le Correspondant* (June 25, 1883) declared: "A coup sûr, il lut (*Les Héros*), médita sur les théories de l'historien anglais et dû se les approprier. Le héros de Carlyle devint l'homme providentielle du futur empereur." A few years later occurred the tragedy of 1870, during which Carlyle published his famous letter in the *Times*, taking the side of Germany. "Nous voyons donc," adds Dr. Taylor, "que la dernière aventure de Napoléon III provoqua une intervention décisive de la part de l'auteur même qui avait peut-être été l'un des inspirateurs de ses doctrines politiques" (p. 121). Thus go the ironies of history—and literature. A more edifying manifestation of Carlyle's far-flung power may be found in Carducci's *Ça ira*, "cette suite merveilleuse de douze sonnets," based upon Carlyle's account of September, 1792, in *The French revolution*, which Carducci read in the winter of 1882-83. These sonnets make memorable reading, all the more remarkable when we remember that Carducci seems to have read *The French revolution* in a French translation, in spite of which the parallels with Carlyle's phrasing are as-

tonishly close (pp. 280-95). Many other, and more curious, facts are turned up in the course of Dr. Taylor's study—e.g., Taine's translation of Carlyle's *wonder* as *stupeur*—but space does not permit discussing them. The work as a whole is scrupulously written; sometimes it is indeed too meticulous in the search for possible evidence of influence as in the certainly far-fetched discussion of a possible influence from Machiavelli upon Carlyle "par des moyens indirects, soit à travers Frédéric II, grâce à l'enseignement de Descartes qui était un moment précepteur de sa mère la princesse Elisabeth, soit à travers les théories de Fichte et de Hegel" (p. 14). On the other hand, in the otherwise excellent chapter on the Froude-Carlyle controversy, too little use is made of Waldo H. Dunn's *Froude and Carlyle*, which is cited just twice.

The readers of 1939 will examine with close attention the fifth chapter of Part III, "L'Ere des dictateurs." For here they will see to what extent, after the essentially literary interest in Carlyle among the Italians had subsided in the 1920's, the political side of Carlyle's teachings was seized upon as the English gospel of Italian Fascism. In 1931 G. Licciardelli published his *Benito Mussolini e Tommaso Carlyle*, the first treatise to apply the doctrines of Carlyle to the new regime. Carlyle, he wrote, "est l'apôtre d'un nouvel ordre social, dont, à un siècle de distance, il devait être donné à ... Benito Mussolini ... de jeter les bases solides, inaugurant la réalisation de l'oeuvre qu'avait conçue le grand idéaliste anglais. ... Etre forts pour devenir grands: tel est l'impérialisme de Benito Mussolini et du Fascisme; tel est l'esprit vivifiant de la nouvelle organisation du travail, prévue par Carlyle et réalisée par Mussolini, qui conduira l'Italie vers une destinée éclatante et bien méritée" (pp. 378, 379, Taylor's trans.). It is outside the province of Dr. Taylor's work to consider Carlyle and German Naziism—though he mentions the work of Professor Joseph E. Baker and of Sir Herbert Grierson—but he ends his chapter with an effective summary of the authoritarian doctrines which Carlyle is now contributing to the world-dilemma: "Tout la partie autoritaire des théories de Carlyle, l'organisation hiérarchique du travail, le besoin d'un premier ministre inspiré, d'un sauveur et d'un maître, a dû attendre le XX^e siècle pour se voir réaliser jusqu'à un certain point en Italie et en Allemagne. ... C'est donc à l'un des plus grands problèmes de notre époque, celui de savoir lequel va triompher du régime démocratique ou du régime autoritaire, que la pensée de Carlyle se trouve intimement liée" (p. 382).

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

Michigan State Normal College

Thomas Hardy, a study of his writings and their background. By WILLIAM R. RUTLAND. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1938. Pp. ix+365.

"In this book," we are told in a note on the wrapper, "Hardy is considered historically as an accepted classic; and an attempt is made to apply to his writings the methods which scholarship applies to the writings of Shakespeare

or Dryden." Scholarship has employed a vast number of methods in treating the writings of Shakespeare or Dryden, with widely diverging degrees of success, and perhaps Mr. Rutland's statement of his aim is phrased as it is in order that, if necessary, he may shelter under a corner of the cloak which has already covered such a multitude of sins. There has been much fatuity written about Shakespeare and about Dryden; and to put Hardy in their company is as good an excuse as any for writing fatuously about the novelist of Wessex. There is nothing like making a man a classic for absolving his critics from the necessity of exercising any genuine critical faculty.

But just what does Mr. Rutland mean by the phrase, "considered historically as an accepted classic"? His book, presumably, supplies the answer. He gives us a rather jerky account of Hardy's work, partly historical, partly critical, beginning with a discussion of the nature and influence of Hardy's early reading, proceeding to an account of "the background of Hardy's thought," continuing with a treatment of the novels in their order, and concluding with a chapter on the poems and the *Dynasts*, by far the greater part of which is devoted to the latter. The early chapters are informative and give evidence of some careful reading, though they tend to be marred by a too faint sense of relevance. There is the usual hunting for parallels, with some interesting, some obvious, and some useless results. The degree of thoroughness with which any given point is treated seems to be determined by no fixed principle. The chapter on Hardy's early writings contains one of the two positive results of Mr. Rutland's scholarship—a fairly definite establishment of the relationship between *The poor man and the lady*, the "lost" novel of 1868, and *An indiscretion in the life of an heiress*, published in 1878; the conclusions arrived at supplement those reached by Professor Carl J. Weber in 1935. The discussion of the later novels combines a consideration of sources and influences, which varies from naïve commonplace to occasional happy insight or discovery, with a chronological account of the writing of the novels which is marred by intermittent paragraphs where a trite pontification masquerades as criticism. Here are some examples:

To most readers, the great charm of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, is that it is almost the only one of Hardy's writings which does not contain a tragedy. The episode of Fanny and Mr. Maybold lies on the edge of tragedy, and that is enough. Art should not always be tragic.

Had Hardy lived under Elizabeth or James I, he would probably have achieved great stage drama. . . . As it was, he wrote fiction "for the relief of his necessities"; and in due course produced *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. It seems best to be content with what he has given us; we already have *Othello* and *The Duchess of Malfi*.

The book is shot through with this sort of stuff. If this is what comes from treating Hardy "as an accepted classic," we could wish that Mr. Rutland had treated him as anything but that.

The section on the *Dynasts* has the same faults. It opens with a futile searching for possible sources, each one of which is no sooner brought forward than it is dismissed as obviously having had no influence on Hardy. We are treated to mentions of *The ring and the book*, *Festus* (by Philip James Bailey), *A life drama* (by Alexander Smith), *Balder* (by Sydney Dobell), *Becket* and *Ethelstan* (both by George Darley) and many other "improbable possible" sources, all in the worst tradition of academic inanity. Much more valuable—and the second positive result of Mr. Rutland's scholarship—is the account of the historical material on which Hardy drew, with a detailed analysis of the source material for the fifth act of the first part. This throws some light on the processes of Hardy's art and might have been developed much further. Here again, pious clichés take the place of criticism:

The *Dynasts* must stand or fall by its value as literature; in other words, it is a work, not of science, but of art.

To compare a finished work of art with that which inspired the artist is always fascinating, for it brings us close to the mystery of creative genius; and that mystery seems to hold the central secret of the Universe. Here is the bringing of order out of chaos; the making of something out of nothing. And this alone among men the artist can accomplish; all others are bound by the principle of the conservation of matter—they can but work with that with which they began; but the artist, taking that which is without form and void, makes thereof a living world.

The appreciation of the *Dynasts* demands an approach along lines that do not correspond to the beaten highways of established criticism. We must first see what it achieves in its own way; and then whether that way is good, judged by the results. Does Hardy accomplish what he set out to accomplish? It was once said by Galsworthy, writing of novelists, that the business of style is to remove all barriers between the writer and his readers. This penetrating remark can be transposed so that it applies to the dramatist. It is the business of dramatic technique to remove all barriers between the spectator, and the illusion of reality which the dramatist seeks to project. Or, in the words of Coleridge which are quoted in the Preface to the *Dynasts*, to procure "that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith."

The whole section on "The *Dynasts*: conception and execution" is in this strain. Mr. Rutland would have done better to leave criticism severely alone and content himself with a recording of his own findings on the level of pure scholarship. The criticism of Hardy's poems is a string of gems, beginning:

I personally am very fond of much of Hardy's verse; and would take the volume of collected poetry as a companion on a holiday in preference to any of the novels, for its intimacy, its variety, and its occasionally memorable achievement. But, considered as its author's chief contribution to our literature, that volume could never give Hardy a place in the first rank of English authors. . . . In comparison with the lyrical poetry of Wordsworth and Browning, with both of which it has been compared, it does not give that consciousness of certain genius. . . .

Such easy generalizations only irritate in a book which purports to be a scholarly study of Hardy's writings.

What, we may ask, is the justification for this book? Mr. Rutland has made some original discoveries, though not very many. He has some new things to say about Hardy's background and development, but nothing very much. To enable the study to be presented in chronological form, a great deal of padding is necessary, covering ground that has already been covered, retelling bits of Hardy's life-story which have already been told in full. And, worst of all, the book is studded with critical commonplaces and inanities for which there is no justification whatever. If Mr. Rutland were compiling material which already existed in scattered sources, or if he were presenting simply the results of an original piece of research, or if he were engaged in a serious critical re-estimate of Hardy's work, his book might be a valuable contribution. But the hybrid he has produced, which, though it contains some useful and valuable material, contains unnecessary repetition, indulges in idle speculations, and burkes every critical question that it raises, succeeds only (to mix the metaphor) in falling between innumerable stools.

The truth is, our ideas of what constitutes a "study" of an author need disciplining. If there had been a definite "kind" into which Mr. Rutland could have poured the original material that he had, he might not have given us this soft-boiled piece of work. The genteel tradition in English scholarship has degenerated to the point where it produces far too many shapeless monographs in which a fair amount of good stuff is smothered in an infinite quantity of literary cotton wool. Mr. Rutland is a patient investigator, a lover of literature, and an honest man. It is a pity that he has chosen to hide his light under a bushel.

DAVID DAICHES

University of Chicago

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